

fifth Estate

Radical publishing since 1965

Summer 2013

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The birds, the bees, and anarchy

The theme of this issue is Sex. The very word can elicit emotions from delight to anxiety. However, those reactions aside, the central function of sex, from mega fauna to microbes, is the reproduction of the species. It is only human sexuality which is over laden with social scripts that translate into pleasure or pain, often on a large cultural scale.

Religion and its historic enforcer, the state, cripple our desires and twists them into patterns to perpetuate their systems of domination; anarchy demands their liberation and autonomy. This means we can reconstitute sexuality and its social definitions for personal and social freedom on our terms, not theirs.

The articles herein make no pretense of being exhaustive of all human experience, but attempt to pose a position of sexuality consistent with the values expressed by anarchism.

Articles about gay sex, theories of sexual repression, or the myriad sensual activities which express themselves on the margins of our culture are not included, but certainly their absence does not imply a judgement.

Without our growing number of subscribers and readers, and the generosity of our Sustainers, what you are holding wouldn't have happened. We thank them, as well as the talents of the many writers, editors, artists, and photographers who take our blank pages and fill them with compelling content and attractive illustrations.



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Cover: Zach Kozdron

This issue follows Winter 2012
A Spring edition was not published

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War criminal Nixon orders invasion of Cambodia. graphic—Liberation News Service, 1970. Fifth Estate files.

Letters to the editor

Our readers respond

Vietnam Debated

Jonny Ball's article on Viet Nam needs a rakeover. [See FE Winter 2012, "A Changing Vietnam."]

He defines the war as simply a proxy affair between the U.S. and the Russian Empire along with the Chinese; simply a Cold War phenomena.

This is seeing such wars the world was rife with during that era through the prevailing Western ruling analysis. It forgets the savage oppression the Indo-Chinese people suffered under Western colonialism.

In Indochina, the Vietnamese call the conflict The American War.

The U.S. occupied the southern part of Viet Nam. It was Americans who bayoneted pregnant women, torched entire villages, burned to death an innumerable amount of victims with napalm, bombed the country into craters, killing millions of civilians. The U.S. defined the war as one of "attrition," i.e., genocide.

[FE note: If there is doubt about this

description, see Nick Turse's recently published, *Kill Anything That Moves: The Real American War in Vietnam* from Dispatch Books.]

Indochinese were shooting at American troops and it didn't mean shit that the bullets were Soviet. Anyone fighting for survival and against an invader will take help from the devil.

The Americans finally had to admit that the driving force among those being crushed by them was nationalism not Communism. Historically, the Vietnamese endured invasions and occupations from China, France, Japan, the French again, the Americans, Cambodia, and China. They are among history's bravest peoples and should not be brushed off as "proxies."

The proxy analysis has its place but far, far from the everyday lives of those who fought the American invaders.

I am an anti-Communist anarchist and was a leader in the 1980s group, Neither East Nor West, that linked alternativist scenes in the East and West for mutual

solidarity. I have no love for Viet Stalinism. But that's a far moon from the righteous fight of people for freedom from a Nazi-type American regime despite the geopolitical chess the world's imperial powers were playing.

Bob McGlynn
Brooklyn

Having made three trips to Vietnam in recent years to visit my wife's relatives in Ho Chi Minh City, I can heartily concur with the reflections in Jonny Ball's piece in the Winter 2013 FE. I, too, have seen the government's scant concern for human rights in its scamper to attract business from the West and pander to the wealthy.

I've noted the irony of a Communist country which widely opens the doors to foreign entrepreneurs that rush to set up factories because of the low pay scales and lack of pollution control.

See LETTERS, page 44

SEX & ANARCHY: Because real social change includes a sexual revolution

BY JAMIE HECKERT

One of the things most appealing about the anarchist tradition is its scope and subtlety. Not only do anarchists have big ideas and great plans for transforming the large-scale cultural, economic, and political structures of our societies, we also address the everyday questions of how we live our lives.

Because of this, anarchism may be seen as a practical ethics: exploring how we relate to each other as free and lively equals. Capitalism, the state, patriarchy, white supremacy, etc., are all patterns of relationships. We find them so painful, so difficult, because they involve treating humans and other beings as objects to use (for labor, for pleasure, for identity, etc.).

If we get caught up in our own desires, it's easy to forget that others are equal participants in the world. If these patterns encourage us to forget, anarchy encourages us to remember. To re-member. We are all members of the world.

Anarchy is a practice. We don't get it right every time. We can forgive ourselves, learn from our mistakes and carry on learning.

When hierarchy is assumed, freedom is imagined to come from privilege. In anarchy, freedom is relational. We help each other learn to be free, without fantasies of superiority or inferiority.

Power relations can be fluid. Leadership emerges and inspires others by doing your best and encouraging others to develop their capacities, as well. In short, being a good example of anarchy in action.

For each person this will look different. For some it may be facilitating meetings with great sensitivity and focus. For others it might be developing anarchist theory or throwing really incredible parties or raising children. For someone else it may be behind the scenes work of quietly encouraging everyone they meet to listen to what is really right for them, introducing them to others for mutual aid and inspiration.

And, for another person, it might involve harm reduction through undermining sexual violence, militarism, and other life-damaging forces. These few examples are only the tip of the anarchist iceberg. Many types of skills are needed to nurture a functioning, vibrant anarchy.

Anarchist relationships might also, ideally, be based on listening with care to each other rather than speaking for each other. Listening is a skill which can become increasingly subtle. We might hear the words people say, and also listen to the emotions and desires behind the words.

We can listen to our bodies and sense what they need to be well. We can tune into the bodies of others, to work or play together. We can

listen to the land, learning how an ecosystem functions and what it needs. We can even learn to listen to the quiet, wise voice of our own hearts.

Sexuality can be one of the most challenging areas in which to put our anarchist ethics into practice. Perhaps this is because sexuality both touches the heart of who we think we are (our identities) and is so often intertwined with intense feelings of desire and pleasure, shame and fear.

Besides, sexuality is often presented as somehow exceptional, different from other social relationships. But the same possibilities exist—for hierarchy or anarchy, manipulating or listening, fearing or loving—in any relationship whether we call it economic, political or intimate.

Seeing sex as exceptional is a consequence of the artificial separation of the personal from the political, the private from the public, the feminine from the masculine, the social from the natural. Double standards exist across all these divisions.

We are taught that who we (want to) have sex with, and how (or even if) we (want to) have it, tells us what kind of person we are. Gay or straight or bi, kinky or vanilla, poly or monogamous? These categories can be great tools of control if we allow

ourselves to be fixed by them. Or, if out of our own fear or confusion, we attempt to manipulate others by shaming them about how we think they should be.

Instead, we might help each other out of the subtle mental prison of trying to live up to who we think we are or should be. This even includes thinking our desires should break out of all the boxes! Desires can overflow without needing to be forced.

Making sex a special case leads to all sorts of problems. For one, it may not be taken seriously as political. Or, its politics can be recuperated for hierarchy. The politics of sexuality is also a politics of race and nation. For example, Western governments are currently using gay rights language to appear liberated and advanced in relation to those other nations on whom they wish to drop bombs or from which they want to slow immigration.

Sexuality is part of life and anarchism is about the liberation of all of life. No exceptions.

Ah, but what is liberation? Corporations sell an individualistic notion of sexual liberation to sell products. By selling a particular idea of what sexual liberation should look like, people become self-conscious and ashamed that their lives don't compare to artificial standards of airbrushed bodies and adventurous (but still normal) sex lives.

This is a great mechanism for a society of control and a growth-economy. Not sexy enough? Buy this. And, this. And, this. (Or deny yourself: food, compassion, love.) Ashamed of your desires? Keep quiet

Sexuality can be one of the most challenging areas in which to put our anarchist ethics into practice.



and be afraid.

Even more anarchic popular ideas of what sex can be like—playful, egalitarian, experimental, desired, agreed, loving (in the broadest sense), listening, etc.—are hard to experience when we believe that care is control in disguise, that freedom means privilege and equality is under the law. We can learn otherwise, with practice.

What if care means listening with groundless compassion, freedom means following our own hearts and equality means seeing through the performances of superiority and inferiority (perhaps even while enjoying them)?

As Kropotkin and Colin Ward and so many others have taught, anarchy exists everywhere. We could even say it's the reason good sex is possible.

Anarchism has a long tradition of seeing that sexuality, too, is political. Emma Goldman, Voltairine de Cleyre, and others in the US promoted women's reproductive and sexual freedom around the turn of the 19th into the 20th century, while anarchist groups in Spain in the 1930s demanded and distributed contraception. Sexuality, gender, marriage, the body and the family were topics of discussion among anarchists around the world.

Literary and philosophical figures like Walt Whitman, Oscar Wilde, Edward Carpenter and Daniel Guerin made links between sexual freedom and libertarian socialism inspiring

anarchist participation in homosexual liberation movements from the 1920s onwards. Anarchist women in Spain and elsewhere from the 1930s to today advocate an understanding of politics which includes the intimate, from sexual violence to sexual pleasure, from domestic violence to collective living, from medicalized bodies to autonomous selves and much more.

Women's liberation and gay liberation movements from the 1970s onward have continued to have significant overlaps with anarchist movements and anarchic ethics. For example, ACT UP (the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) has used direct action, affinity groups and consensus decision making to address the politics of HIV over the past 25 years.

Today, anarchists continue to participate in queer autonomous zones, LGBT prison solidarity, radical sex education, anarcha-feminist health projects and so much more.

Our history is rich with playful, thoughtful, and erotic experimentation.

Born out of this history of radical sexual politics, queer theory doesn't so much question the inequality between genders or sexualities. Instead, it looks at the identities themselves.

It is impossible to maintain hierarchies and borders without divisions of us and them and subtle mechanisms for keeping people in their place. Rigid identities are perfect, especially if they are taken for granted as natural and

unquestionable. It's not politics, it's just who we are. But, what if it's not who we are? What if we are so much more?

Both sex itself and other ways of anarchist(ic) relating can help us experience this fullness of life. By allowing desires to be there without letting them define us, control us, or contain us. By letting emotions pass through our bodies without holding them, or being held by them. By listening with an open heart and open mind to others and to ourselves.

By looking for what makes us take our identities seriously and letting them become role-play. By relating as equals and seeing hierarchy for the fantasy that it is.

Surprising connections occur.
Movements flow.
Life evolves.

Jamie Heckert is co-editor (with Richard Cleminson) of *Anarchism & Sexuality* (Routledge, 2011), and contributor to a bunch of other publications including *Queering Anarchism* (AK Press, 2012) and *Post-Anarchism: A Reader* (Pluto, 2011). He is also a yoga teacher, public speaker, workshop facilitator, and gentle trouble-maker. Jamie spent his first two decades in Iowa, his third in Scotland and his forth is playing itself out in England.

LESSONS FROM A 7-FOOT PENIS

(or, how I performed anti-sexist, anti-homophobic, sex positive and queer-friendly, sex comedy cabarets across North America)

BY NORMAN NAWROCKI

I came home one night many years ago to find my then girlfriend crying on the couch.

"What happened?" I asked.

"Nothing. Just some guy in the street."

"What did he do to you?"

"He wouldn't let me cross the street unless I told him my name and agreed to go out with him. He kept blocking my way."

She told me that this total stranger kept harassing her for blocks and wouldn't give up. No one intervened.

I told her that the next day, I would follow her home with a baseball bat and watch for the guy, then, like any good pacifist anarchist, clobber him. She rolled her eyes, sighed, and said, "Don't be stupid."

Then, she explained.

"You don't understand. It happens all the time. And to a lot of women. It's on-going. Not just here, in our neighbourhood, but everywhere. All over Montreal. On the bus, while I'm shopping, in the library at the university, in different places, day and night."

"It's all kinds of guys, all ages, saying stupid things. They leer at me, yell at me, brush up against me. Try to come on to me. I don't like it, but I'm used to it. I just put up with it. I don't take the time to say or do something every time it happens. It would take forever. And I'm not going to tell you every time it happens either. I have better things to do."

My stomach turned. Another one for the patriarchy.

As her boyfriend, and a socially conscious artist, I resolved to do something about it — other than take vigilante action — to try to stop violence against women.

So, a few months later, I wrote and produced an "anti-sexist sex comedy cabaret."

To reach "other guys," the ones who wouldn't normally come to an anti-sexist/stop violence against women workshop, but who might come to a show.

I planned to poster the neighbourhood — "Free Sex Show, Norm's Bachelor Pad!" I'd borrow 20 chairs from my neighbours and stage the performance in my apartment.

I was hoping that the jerk that targeted my girlfriend would be among the audience. Then, friends set me straight.

"No guy or group of guys will come unless you offer free beer."

I couldn't afford to supply free booze for the masses, so, friends suggested I take the show to the local university, McGill, where my target audience hung out.

"Do it in their bar."

A few weeks later, I performed my "I Don't Understand Women!" solo comedy cabaret on campus. It was a simple poster billing the show as:

"A one-man comedy show for studs, wimps, dweebs, sissies, macho men, lover boys, nice guys, dudes, dickheads, Playboys, wusses,



Danilo Collins

bachelors, husbands, boyfriends and women."

The poster said nothing about the real content of the piece; that it would deal with date rape and sexual harassment. Over 300 men and women attended. Next day, Concordia University administrators called me.

"We hear you have an anti-sexist sex comedy. Can you perform it here?"

This was 20 years ago. Since then, I created, produced and toured three other hour-long, anti-sexist, anti-homophobic, but sex positive and queer-friendly, informative, hit, solo "sex" comedy cabarets all across North America.

I've given a few thousand performances of "I Don't Understand Women," "My Dick & Other Manly Tales;" "Sex Toys;" and "Lessons from a 7ft Penis," playing at almost every single post-secondary campus in Canada and a few dozen in the US, including MIT.

About one million people have now seen my original show, plus the others.

I play for 300 to 1,000 people at a time, not just on campuses, but in bars, theatres, and community centres. Once, I performed in a men's

prison; another time in a hockey arena for 1,500 cheering hormone and testosterone raging youth who wanted to see my giant vagina and butt plug. For good reason.

I have large accessories. The biggest dancing and singing genitals in Canada, I say. A 7-foot tall purple penis, a 10-foot high orange butt plug, an 8-foot tall vagina, and a 6 ½-foot high anus. They are among the 12 or so characters I play in each show.

Three of the shows are non-stop high-energy, with soundtracks, costume changes and lots of audience inter-action. I get people to do "Clit Class 101" warm-up exercises in their seats, to flex their buttholes, to practice touching, to hug themselves and their neighbours. People laugh, people cry, because I push a lot of buttons. And, I usually ask for campus counselling staff to be present, to deal with the aftermath.

Survivors want to talk. Others in the closet want to share. My shows help some think about coming out to friends or family, to talk to others they might have mistreated, to speak up and challenge sexist or homophobic or heterosexist assumptions or actions. I occasionally hear back from audience members the next day or years later about what happened when they went home after my show.

I must say, it's gratifying to hear that people can and do change. But isn't this what anarchy is all about? Individual empowerment and positive change in social relationships?

In these shows, I use non-sexist, non-homophobic humor to address important issues around health, gender, relationships, date rape, human sexuality, heterosexism, homophobia, harassment, diversity, violence against women, anatomy, techniques, attitude, etc. — but I don't joke about the serious stuff.

All of my shows have been reviewed in mainstream media and appeared on national radio and TV, allowing the general public to read about, watch and hear explicit anti-sexist, anti-homophobic, sex-positive alternative perspectives about sexual politics.

I have received the endorsements of hundreds of campus health and counselling professionals, human rights organizations, and dozens of women's and GLBQT groups coast-to-coast. Shows on campuses tend to be co-sponsored by anyone from Equity and Diversity Committees, to student groups, Security Offices, Deans, Residence Life, Gender Centres and even trade unions.

The funny thing? These shows are not advertised as "anti-sexist" or "anti-homophobic." They come with an "Adult Contents" warning, and are a "sneak attack." Mostly on unsuspecting men.

Both men and women and everyone in between attend the performances, but if you watch the audience during the shows, you notice a lot of straight women partners elbowing their hetero husbands or boyfriends. Queer couples also exchange knowing or



Hateful fundamentalists and others put me on their hit list issuing death and bomb threats.

surprised looks or whisper, "Honey, I told you so."

My shows are meant to be preventative. To stop the queer/women/trans bashing. To change sexist, transphobic and homophobic attitudes and behaviour.

Of course, not everyone loves what I do.

For many years, I felt like I wore an extra-large bulls-eye. Hateful Fundamentalists and others put me on their hit list issuing death and bomb threats. Anything to stop students from hearing my queer-positive, anti-sexist, sex positive messages.

There were even nights I had police protection before, during and after the performances. As an anarchist, I'd never call them. The campuses did out of fear for my life.

However, during the 1990s, I did require security on many campuses before I'd agree to perform. Once, I was punched out on stage in the middle of a performance.

Thankfully, I was safely ensconced inside my well-padded, 7-foot purple penis.

Generally, the shows receive and continue to get rave reviews in the media and from sponsors. Because they work. They reach the "unreachables." The guys, like the one who assaulted my girlfriend, who will come to a "sex" comedy, expecting to hear about "tits and ass." And, I give them a lot of tits, a lot of ass, and more.

I break the ice so they can go home to think and talk about what my 7" penis or giant, ejaculating vagina says about how to have healthier, happier, more respectful and loving relationships with themselves and others. It helps, too, that I guarantee that anyone who pays attention will become a better lover.

Anarchists included!

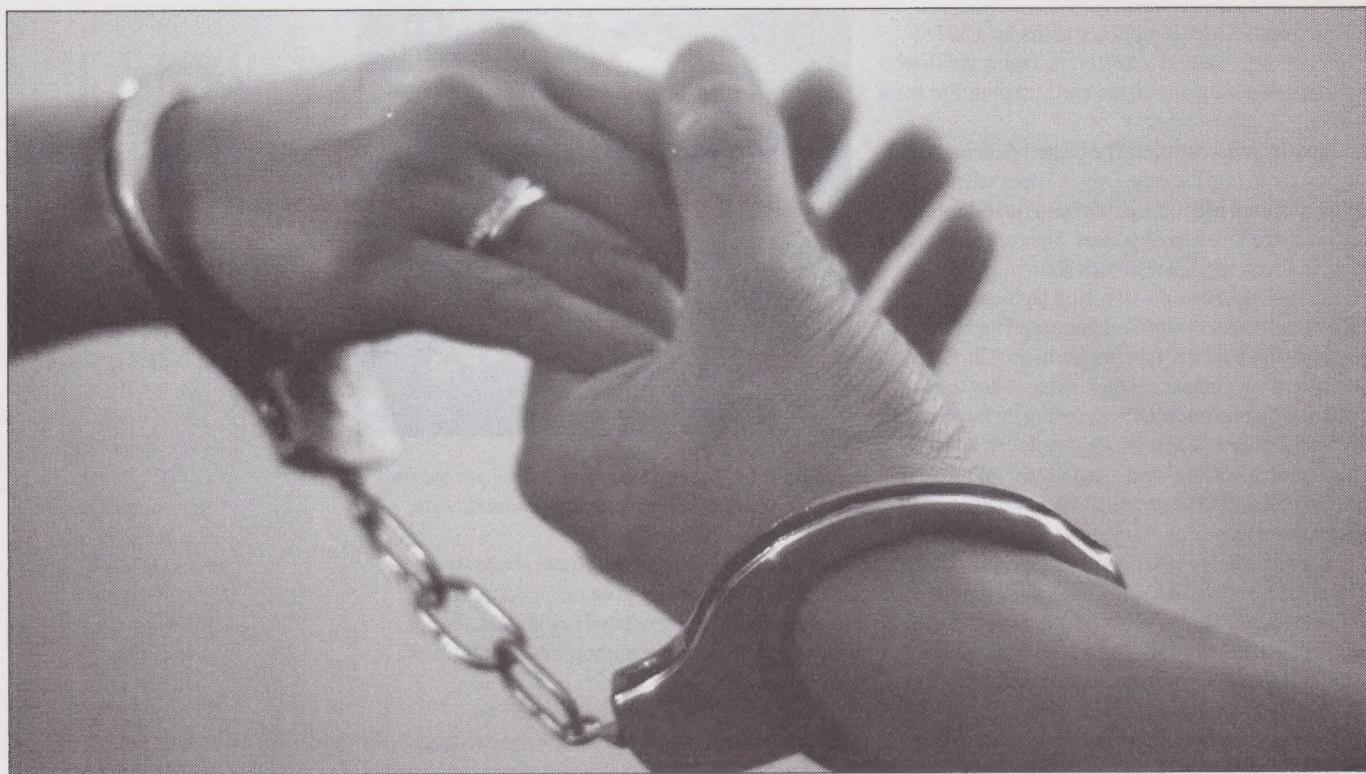
More info: nothingness.org/music/rhythm/en/html/sexshows/sexshows.html. Norman's latest book is *Quebec Student Strike & Social Revolt Poems* from AK Press akpress.org

What is it?

Sex is Sweet
Sex is Defeat
Sex is Stars
Sex is Bars
Sex is Money
Sex is Honey
Sex is Euphoric
Sex is Demonic
Sex is Safe
Sex is Pace
Sex is Scintillating
Sex is Liberating
Sex is Singular
Sex is Plural
Sex is Derision
Sex is Religion
Sex is Heaven
Sex is Hell
Sex is War
Sex is Peace
Sex is Fine
Sex is Blind
Sex is Public
Sex is Private
Sex is Palms
Sex is Songs
Sex is You
Sex is Taboo
Sex is Me
Sex is Free
Sex is Fly
Sex is Tied
Sex is Thrust
Sex is Lust
Sex is Forever
Sex is Never
Sex is Luck
Sex is Fuck
Sex is Cheap
Sex is Sleep
Sex is Protection
Sex is Penetration

Sex is not defined
by a movement
Sex is defined
by a moment
in time

Richard Coreno



An Anarchist View of the Marriage Debate

BY JEFF SHANTZ

For anarchists, marriage is defined not by the sexuality or gender of spouses, but by the presence of the Church and State.

However, marriage, the legal and religious sanctioning of interpersonal relationships, rarely receives much attention in anarchist feminist circles. Major collections of anarchist writings cover many areas of social life but usually have no essays dealing with marriage. Those chapters in which important institutions and social relations are dealt with do not even include marriage as part of the discussion.

As an institution or practice which, at least in Western liberal democracies, is largely related to the state, marriage is often (though not uniformly) rejected by anarchists as yet another undesirable intrusion by authorities into people's lives.

At the same time, marriage, despite its many problems, remains an institution which has some appeal for large numbers of people. Likewise, governments, recognizing the moral, social and cultural appeal of marriage, regularly use marriage as a means to wield

political agendas.

One need only think of the ongoing moralization, indeed demonization, campaigns directed against single mothers, especially those relying on social assistance in one form or another, to recognize the political significance of marriage discussions. Such moral regulatory uses of marriage have been particularly popular among neo-conservative governments in the US, Canada and the UK. For anarchists to ignore marriage in such contexts would seem to be a mistake.

Even more, the question of marriage has recently become an area of some debate among queer anarchists and anarchist feminists in various national contexts.

In the US, battles have been pitched at high levels of rhetoric with state referenda asserting marriage as hetero-exclusive practice even as some jurisdictions recognize same sex marriages. In Canada, the federal government has opened the possibility for legal sanctioning of gay and lesbian marriages by agreeing not to interfere with a Supreme Court decision in favor of recognizing these relationships. The outcome of this decision is far from complete since the feds have

decided to turn responsibility for official legal authorization over gay and lesbian marriages to the provincial governments, while Conservative back benchers rumble about restoring "traditional" arrangements.

As a result, some anarchists are debating how they should participate in movements to secure the full recognition of same sex marriages. This is especially important for anarchists who have long been involved in queer movements and politics, locally, at provincial and state levels and federally, in Canada and the US. Indeed perspectives on this question can serve to position us, and our involvement, within these broader movements.

Part of an anarchist worldview, dating back at least to the famous debates in the 19th century between Marx and Bakunin within the First International, insists that the future anti-authoritarian and egalitarian society must be prefigured in the relationships and institutions that give rise to it. Thus, anarchists have always tried to build alternative institutions such as free schools, workers' cooperatives, communal gardens and theatre.

Anarchists have not limited their efforts

to creating such alternative institutions but have also experimented with new forms of relationships. Anarchists, no fans of property, have been especially interested in removing those aspects of interpersonal relationships which take on a possessive character.

In this, there has been much overlap between anarchist and queer sexuality. Open relationships, multiple partnerships (or polyamory), and polysexuality have been among expressions of queer and anarchist sexual practices.

Queer anarchists, thus, often opposed state recognized marriage out of concern that it represents, and indeed, encourages a limiting of loving relationships, the diversity of which is so important in lesbian and gay communities, and the further legitimization of monogamy, the nuclear family and the possessive in interpersonal relationships.

Dennis Fox writing in a 2001 *Social Anarchism* notes, "Wedded to spontaneity, openness, and the complete transformation of intimate relationships within new forms of community, card-carrying anarchists reject not only marriage's legal framework but its traditional link to monogamy and nuclear family primacy."

While marriage may offer something in the economic realm, and this is certainly not to be disregarded given the lower socioeconomic positions endured, especially by many lesbian couples, it offers little for anarchists as a starting point for building non-hierarchical relations more broadly.

For most anarchists, then, "the issue of homosexual marriage is akin to the issue of conscripting women. No, homosexuals should not 'be allowed' to marry, but then neither should heterosexuals, and no one should be drafted. Sorry, but 'living together contracts' are also impolitic," according to Ruthann Robson in *Reinventing Anarchy, Again*.

The fact that states grant benefits to married couples and not to others makes marriage a fundamentally inequalitarian and hierarchical institution. The solution is not to allow a few more people into the institution but to do away with it all together. When it comes to marriage, anarchists might well be abolitionists.

Anarchists feel there is no point in lobbying for equal opportunities in marriage if social structures, including legal systems, workplaces, welfare systems and families,

remain largely unchanged. Anarchists are oriented towards more active political struggles and towards fundamental social transformations.

Even the economic argument around access to spousal benefits, tax breaks, and pensions is not particularly compelling for most anarchists. Attempting to win social benefits through access to the same benefits given to heterosexual couples is a rather privatized approach to social programs.

Rather than try to open up access to privileges for those who chose to register their relationship with the state, while leaving the marker of such privilege intact, queer anarchists argue for a broader mobilization to win universal social benefits which would address people's economic needs without reference to relationship status.

End all of the benefits that go only to married couples and make provisions available to all who need them. End the pension, disability or inheritance laws that favor the married and exclude the unmarried. No benefits must accrue simply from a state sanctioning of one personal relation over another.

Recognition of same sex marriages will still only cover each discreet couple, thereby reinforcing the pairing up of the nuclear model. A great variety of peoples' relationships will remain without legitimacy. This normative privileging violates the rights of those who are unwilling or unable to subscribe to it and it serves to enhance the moral regulatory creation and enforcement of laws.

Is it possible, given this perspective, for anarchists to move beyond essentialist or polarized depictions of lesbian and gay marriage to recognize the specific limitations and opportunities provided by marriages in a context of unequal distribution of rights and opportunities?

While not a situation involving same sex marriage, the relationship between the anarchist William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft, an early women's rights advocate, is illustrative of a situational anarchist approach to marriage which responds to personal circumstance rather than an essentialist view of marriage. Wollstonecraft had suffered miserably at the hands of late eighteenth century English social prejudice over the birth of her daughter out of wedlock.

So tormented had she been that she twice tried to kill herself. When she became pregnant again with Godwin's child, fearful of further ostracism, she asked Godwin to marry her. Although he had publicly declared marriage as the "most odious of all monopolies," he consented.

This should not be considered a reversal. According to Peter Marshall in *Demanding the Impossible*, "Godwin, however, as a good anarchist believed that there are no moral rules which should not give way to the urgency of particular circumstances. In this case he submitted himself to an institution which he still wished to see abolished out of regard for the happiness of an individual." There is nothing to suggest that the marriage ceremony did anything to bind Wollstonecraft or Godwin any more than they were before.

Indeed, anarchists are able to recognize that there is in fact a tension between the critique of marriage and people's material, social or psychological needs. At the same time this situational view of marriage probably remains a minority position among anarchists, including among queer anarchists. Most anarchists agree with Emma Goldman's view that moral opinion is no reason to succumb to marriage.

Against marriage, Goldman counterposed relationships which rested not upon state or church authority but upon love alone. "Love is that most powerful factor of human relationship which from time immemorial has defied all man-made laws and broken through the iron bars of conventions in Church and morality, she wrote.

From these loving relationships can be glimpsed the future anarchist world. Where people's affections change they are not bound by any law or obligation but are free to build new loving relationships. Anarchists seek and work towards the transformation of human relations.

With the abolition of patriarchal families and marriage laws and the rights of inheritance which they protect, greater opportunities may exist for all, equally, to share free unions with each other.

Jeff Shantz is an anarchist community organizer in Surrey, British Columbia and author of Active Anarchy editor of Protest and Punishment. He is active with the Critical Criminology Working Group. His web address is jeffshantz.ca.

TO ABOLISH RAPE, OVERTHROW MALE DESIRE

Patriarchal sexuality as the cornerstone of authoritarian society

BY PATRICK DUNN

In at least some of its aspects, human culture functions as an elaborate system of sexual rituals – not substitutive satisfactions, in the Freudian sense, but social performances that organize sexual energies, and that bring sexual forces into a living, symbolic order of seduction, pleasure, power, and reproduction.

From this point of view, rape and other forms of sexual violence – in particular, violence against women, children, and those not conforming to established sexual identities – can be seen as extensions of the normal regime of interaction among participants in a stratified cultural order.

Human culture is set up, in its logic and purpose, to stimulate and deploy the violent forces unleashed in acts of rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment, and other forms of sexual violence. In this way, sexual violence serves as an instrument of cultural order and is recognized, through either active or tacit complicity, as something routine, natural, and normal.

The basic principle governing the deployment of sexual violence in human culture is patriarchy, or male rule. It is from the point of view of male consciousness, male desire, that the incessant theater of sexually encoded rituals is organized. Patriarchal culture is set up for the sake of male desire; male consciousness commands and directs cultural performances in order to satisfy and elicit this desire.

Male desire thus originates from an illusory standpoint of pure, sovereign subjectivity, outside the passing display of sexualized rituals, from which an absolute command and control is exercised over objective forces. This sovereign male consciousness is the secret determining agency that sets all sexual games and rituals in motion. It makes culture appear and develop as it does, according to a strategically encoded order; it also makes sex happen, it brings about sexual experiences.

Inherent in the condition of patriarchy is the assumption that male desire has the right to impose itself at will. Male desire, in its sovereignty, has the right to be satisfied; other sexual forces and potentials exist only for the sake of this satisfaction. Thus, when an individual man feels a desire for sex, he organizes material forces in order to achieve, by whatever means, the satisfaction to which he is entitled.

Others – men, women, children, beasts, etc. – who are objectified by this desire are, to varying degrees, at the man's disposal; if they are useful, they may be violated, exploited, and discarded according to the rules of social stratification – rules which are themselves designed to

serve the ends of male desire.

Some of these others may achieve formal recognition within the field of male desire (e.g. through marriage), thereby immunizing themselves, at least formally, against certain types of sexual violence, even while submitting themselves to others; those who remain "undeclared" in their sexuality, on the other hand, become potential targets for a wider range of violent acts, and their recourse for self-protection is more dangerous.

This, at least in part, explains the generalized lack of sympathy, and of solidarity in pursuit of justice, for female rape victims: Unmarried, unsupervised women who are perceived as exhibiting sexual qualities are implicitly regarded as legitimate objects of male desire. Married women, meanwhile, are viewed as institutionalized sex objects. What is in fact rape is thus redefined as the natural, rightful enjoyment of the woman's sexual availability by sovereign male desire.

The situation resulting from this complex of male desire is one in which an array of grotesque aberrations and imbalances of power are allowed to flourish. Characters like the ones appearing in the stories of the Marquis de Sade – judges, statesmen, priests, schoolmasters: all male authority figures exercising the absolute right to impose their desires on the population – come to exemplify the naturalized order of sexuality.

Thus, in modern American society, we are surrounded by patriarchal serial rapists like Penn State football coach Jerry Sandusky and many esteemed members of the Catholic clergy. Such figures are granted free license under the executive power of male desire, and they experience their own sexual atrocities as wholly lawful and legitimate. American culture, in its total subservience to patriarchal desire, however surreptitiously, rewards, abets, and ultimately breeds such rapists.

Male desire is able to operate at this illusory level of absolute sovereignty only through a deeply rooted mystification. While bodies are ritually ordered to move at the command of male desire, the machinery of this desire is supposed to lie concealed in secrecy. But even if its modus operandi is to avoid exposure, male desire ultimately remains unknown only to men themselves.

For women, children, and others forced to live under the dominion of male desire acquire an intimate, direct knowledge of its ways – much as black slaves in the American south acquired a special knowledge of whiteness, an embodied, experiential knowledge inaccessible to white folks.

The spreading and airing of this knowledge, when combined with erotic sabotage enacted by non-conforming males, based on their own direct experience of the inner circuitry of male desire, is an essential

"Male desire is a violence inflicted on all the earth — a violence from which we must now recover."



factor in our resistance to patriarchal violence. Such knowledge displaces male desire from its position of absolute command and returns it to the field of relative ritual and performance, where it can be politicized and attacked. It is in this spirit that some rebellious critiques of masculinity have been offered; they are unmaskings of the symbolically coded, psychosomatic machinery through which male desire conducts itself into an incarnate agency of violence.

However, the discourse of ending patriarchy and abolishing masculinity belies a basic imbalance that continues to define sexual relations among human beings. This imbalance is rooted in the persistent executive authority and control wielded by men over the rituals, interactions, and physical techniques involved in bringing about sexual experiences.

In other words, what is missing from the myriad critiques of gender, masculinity, and patriarchy is a positive solution to the problem of sex — specifically, how to do it, how to bring it about; such a solution is urgently needed, insofar as our species is not committed to a path of permanent abstinence.

Children experience pleasure, attraction, and arousal, and, in their complexity, need to be empowered to pursue these experiences free from violence, coercion, and control. Women have been bred as physically incapacitated, subjugated beings; they have been deprived of basic powers, such as the power to defend, manage, and enjoy their own bodies; they have been forced to rely primarily on their seductive influence as encoded and decorated sex objects, while ceding all executive control over violence (including sexual violence) to men.

The agency of women, even their consciousness, is nonexistent under

the regime of male desire; sex between males and females continues to be haunted by this delusion.

Moreover, at a fundamental level, the subjugation of women by men has been inscribed in the dominant form of male-female genital intercourse under patriarchy. However, despite what is suggested by feminist theorists such as Andrea Dworkin (who argues that all male-female genital sex constitutes rape), this violent, "penetrative" form of intercourse is not a reflection of the inherent nature of male-female genital sex; like rape and sexual violence more generally, it is a culturally encoded manifestation of the patriarchal order that defines the limits of what we have come to understand as sexuality.

To discover sex beyond sexuality will require a radical transformation in the erotic-physical relations between males and females.

Obviously, this implies a radical transformation in human culture, such that social hierarchies based on the distinction between male- and female-bodied individuals are eliminated. Positively speaking, women, children, and those who reject patriarchal sexual relations, must be empowered to exert a creative influence over the rituals, strategies, and techniques involved in seeking, imagining, and sustaining sexual ecstasy.

In this way, rape and sexual violence can be abolished, leading ultimately to the destruction of patriarchy, and to the total exposure and dissolution of the mystified subject of male desire.

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A Mirror in Hand

I would like to make one thing clear: this article is dedicated to women as an appeal for the appropriation of our bodies, our fantasies, and our sexuality. It is not meant to be moralizing or therapeutic.

BY JULIE GAGNON

Taboo, smelly, hidden, shameful, unsightly. Women's sex has been described historically in these terms without explaining precisely why it qualifies as such. At the beginning of the 1960s, mores became less rigid and what was then labelled the Sexual Revolution commenced. But as many women authors have noted, this progress didn't reduce the gap between the pleasure that men and women experience sexually.

This disparity was noted as long ago as the 1976 Hite Report on female sexuality and much has been written about this since. What blocks the liberation of our mentalities from reaching a truly intimate connection with ourselves? After having conquered a sizeable part of the labor force and educational institutions, how can we as women declare ourselves free when so many among us are still incapable of confronting what happens in our own beds?

Let's fold back the sheets so we face can our bodies.

Whenever one examines female sexuality, it is evident how few women really know their body and how it functions. But, this article isn't a biology lesson—there are many good books that provide this information. Sitting down with a mirror and looking at one's vagina to see how it is shaped, the form of the lips, and where the clitoris is situated, is a first step towards claiming one's intimacy.

Women still carry the weight of thousands of years of our sexuality being destroyed and women's bodies considered sinful. And while most sexual education programs condone masturbation, it is, in reality, denied to women. So we have to deconstruct our sexual education in order to reconstruct a liberating one that is open to feminine pleasure in all its forms.

Consider sexual pleasure in and of itself. Statics show that about one third of women indicate they often or always have orgasms. Quite a low percentage, but this is even more striking when it is compared to men's responses which register a yes to the question 90-95 percent of time!

This difference—this chasm—reflects the diverse problems a great many women experience; abandonment, stress, worries about performance, insecurity, uncomfortableness about their body, past and present violence, etc. The causes, individual and social, are as diverse as the number of unsatisfied women.

That this phenomena continues is quite alarming. But the fact that we discuss it so infrequently again demonstrates the inequality between men and women. Just think of all the publicity about Viagra



so that men can continue sexual activity. While sexual fulfillment is a fundamental element in our search for liberty and equality, the problems women face are rarely considered.

I wrote this article on March 8, International Women's Day, because I believe that our struggle has to take place in all spheres, and even (and especially) in our beds. This is an appeal for us to be open and to love and accept ourselves, our bodies, our fantasies and desires.

We need to free ourselves from the pornographic codes that still invade our sexual imagination. These patriarchal, oppressive sexual paradigms demonstrate that domination in the realm of our sexual pleasure still exists and blocks our sexual fulfillment.

While many pertinent books about female sexuality have appeared about our struggle, very few after the Hite Report have contained a variety of women's explicit testimonies about their sexuality in order to determine the benefits of the sexual revolution.

Now is the time to take control of our sexuality, to shape it in our own image because sex has the power to free us.

Translated and adapted from an article that appeared in *Cause Commune*, no. 34, hiver 2013 causecommune.net.

Why be so Attached to your Penis?

"I haven't seen anything like this before."

Bernard Picton
Curator of Marine Invertebrates, National Museum of Northern Ireland

BY RON SAKOLSKY

Could the surreal imagination of even Karel Čapek in his most bitingly satirical novel, *War With The Newts*, ever have conceived of a game-changer the likes of chromodoris reticulata, a red and white sea slug that can actually shed its own penis after mating and then replenish said appendage the very next day.

This disappearing penis trick is not the angst-ridden male nightmare erected by King Missile in their 1992 single, "Detachable Penis," or the liberating sexual fantasy of temporary phallic disposability as a matter of choice which also pops up in that same song. Rather, it is a verifiable fact of nature recently discovered by Japanese researchers.

The astounding results of their study were published in the Royal Society's *Biology Letters* journal in February 2013.

The unassuming thumb-sized shell-less mollusk in question, which inhabits the same warm waters of South East Asia as those in which Čapek's fictionalized newts were first discovered, has single-handedly turned "civilized" notions of phallocentric sexuality inside out. Practicing a sex life that is quite unnerving to the border cops of sexual repression, it seems that this shape-shifting creature is a "simultaneous hermaphrodite" or, in plain language, it has male and female sexual organs which it can use at the same time when mating.

So much for antiquated notions like penis envy! This versatile switch-hitting sea slug, with its exuberant double-barreled sexuality, might just be the most highly evolved creature in the animal world. During copulation, since both of the randy slugs involved can freely give and receive sperm, there can be two distinct parallel penises and vaginas at play in any mating situation.

Fancy that!
After copulation, each sea slug simply drops, ejects or snaps off its thread-like organ as the grand finale.

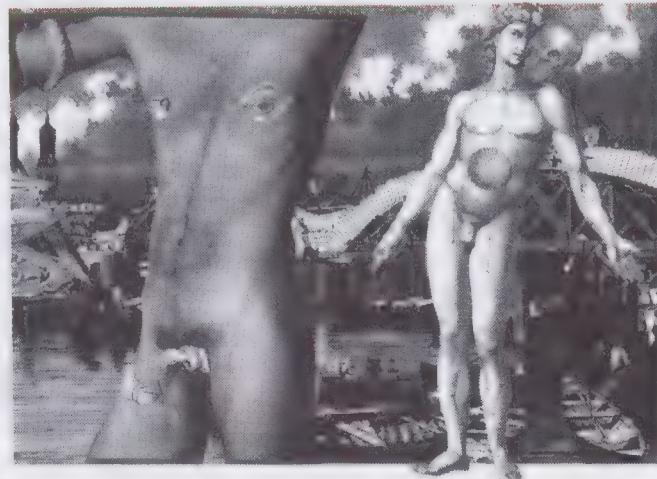
Ouch, you might say! While geckos are willing to part with their tails, few animals would be willing to part with their penises.

No problem though, since each slug has two internally-coiled back-up penises, each of which it can use about twenty-four hours after a sexual liaison. Then, to top it off, once all three penises have been spent, the creature is capable of eventually growing new ones.

At one level, such a unique sexuality is all about the none-too-liberating goal of continuously breeding more slugs. Yet, at another, the creature's transcendence of normative gender categories upsets the Adam and Eve applecart and questions the dualistic assumptions of Noah's Ark. At this latter level, its sluggish defiance of conventional male/female biology is positively blasphemous.

Maybe, as Canadian journalist Tabatha Southey has wittily opined, the discovery of the sex life of chromodorous reticulata is even the real reason for Pope Benedict XVI's unprecedented resignation.

If he believes, as did his papal predecessor,



Inner Island Surrealist Group: Jesse Gentes, Destanne Lundquist, Sheila Nopper and Ron Sakolsky

John Paul II, that animals have souls, then what's a pontiff to do? Southey writes:

"Consider the moral issues a detachable penis raises: If one of God's creatures uses a different penis every time he has sex, is he a virgin each time? Would any sea slug drawn into the service of the Lord have to stop being a priest for the 24 hours she didn't have a penis?"

"All of this would be enough to throw any pontiff into spiritual crisis, but, what's more, the sea slug penis in question appears to be covered with tiny spines that scrape out any competing sperm inside the vagina-like organ of his/her partner as he himself attempts fertilization.

"What Pope wouldn't feel overwhelmed?"

Perhaps then it is only appropriate to end this inspiringly unsettling story by hereby formally nominating the humble sea slug for surrealist

"anti-sainthood." And, fortunately for these lively creatures, Luciferian logic does not require the nominee to be dead as Catholic church dogma does for sainthood.

As an anti-authoritarian bearer of light, chromodoris reticulata illuminates our wildest dreams like an impossible anarchic silhouette shining brightly against the dark landscape of religious fundamentalism.



Ron Sakolsky is the editor of the *Oystercatcher* zine which is now in its tenth year. oystercatcher@uniserve.com

Polyamory and Power: A Confession and Critique

BY ANDREW WILLIAM SMITH

It's not news that much of modernity is all messed up about sex. Contemporary culture fluctuates between moralistic repression and hypersexual expression. Prudes use religion to promote abstinence for unmarried heterosexuals and celibacy for LGBT folks, and the more extreme libertines turn everything erotic and beautiful into a casual commodity.

For much of the 1990s and leaking a little into the 00s, I wrote extensively for *Fifth Estate* on topics of sexual freedom from the perspective of a particular kind of libertine, a polyamorist and polysexual. These were not mere philosophical treatises but reflections from participation on the freaky fringes of sexually experimenting communities.

I bought full cloth the theory that humans are naturally evolved for multiple partners and free flowing libidinal expression. Anything that denied this ideal served the forces of repression.

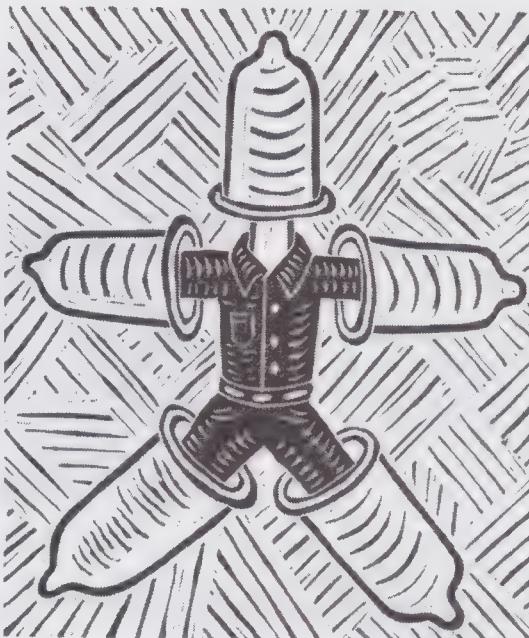
I sought out bisexuals, pansexuals, heteroflexibles, swingers, polyamorists, sex workers, and more. I soon learned that what normative society calls sexual deviance includes variety and diversity which fluctuates freely despite the detractors of such lifestyle choices.

While I respected monogamy or celibacy as a choice that someone else might make, I couldn't fathom why they would. Where's the fun in that?

The "poly" community has many advocates, perhaps best summed-up by the title of the book, *The Ethical Slut*. But all my personal versions of sluttiness did not maintain their own ethical standards, and my sexual shenanigans caught up with me.

The speedy summary is this: Messed-up two successive long-term partnerships. Broke hearts, including my own. Thankfully, I did not contract an STD. Realized that I was an alcoholic, drug addict, and probably a sex / porn/intimacy addict. Quit porn, booze, drugs, and random fooling around, all cold turkey. Got divorced and remarried and have been practicing fidelity for the first time and am loving it.

For whatever it's worth, I offer the readers of this publication the following confession and



—Richard Mock

critique concerning my participation in erotic subcultures. Sexual realities are all-too-often about power. And, lack of power. The sensate and spiritual power of erotic intimacy is all too easily misused and abused.

To some extent, the so-called sex-positive communities, although ostensibly feminist and filled with savvy critiques of the power of repression, underestimate the, at times, overwhelming and always mysterious power of erotic desire. Such experimental communities of freedom, too, may provide a safe cover where predators and addicts might hang-out undetected or undiagnosed for decades.

I base this claim on my own addiction, along with my ethical errors concerning honesty, transparency, and erotic coercion. That is, a so-called ethical slut is honest; I was not always honest. An ethical slut only engages in mutually consensual activities; on occasion, I learned after-the-fact that my partners did not always perceive our interactions as entirely consensual.

While psychologists and others have successfully argued that we're not really wired for monogamy, the moralists and others are more-correct-than-I-would-care-to-admit that we're not really humble, selfless, or mature enough to handle anything but monogamy.

Some critics love to speak passionately about the anti-female sexual repression they observe in conservative religious communities where this is easily noted by seeing women covering

their entire bodies from head-to-toe. While such countercultures, which may not appeal to but a few, oppose the provocative hyper-sexuality that our culture exhibits, it's clear these traditions acknowledge the true power of sexual desire and the deep attractiveness of the human body to other human bodies.

The point I am trying to make here is that the hyper-sexuality of our media culture sometimes ends up incredibly dissatisfying and unerotic while the modesty we perceive as repressive in conservative culture contains an element of deep reverence for the erotic. I am not trying to endorse or explain the patriarchal power-structures that often go hand-in-hand with modesty in such subcultures.

The deep wounds I experienced and caused as a sexually cavalier cad could be justified psychologically or deconstructed ethically from any number of angles. But they could reveal a critique of power, too. Writing as a feminist male, I fear that we as males in progressive or radical communities still have much more work to do in unpacking the inherent violence, power, and even hatred in unchecked male sexuality.

I've come to accept that as a male there are aspects of my biosocial reality that could be described as essentialist, and some of the essentials of modern masculinity are inherently problematic, power-driven, and sexually predatory. While I have never been macho per se, I previously allowed my libidinal proclivities a kind of power-over-me and others that not only fits my addictive personality but reflects problems of power and lack of power in our world.

The only human power worth preserving is the shared, social power of consensual and collective associations. Solidarity, community, or power-with others, as it's been described. Experiments in extended sexual relationships often reveal deep problems with power.

In fact, models for polyamorous open relationships usually involve hierarchies, revealed in vocabularies that distinguish domestic partners or primary partners from play partners. That is, the emotions affiliated with maintaining multiple intimate relationships are often hierarchical, even when

A RESPONSE ON POLYAMORY

"Monogamy doesn't work; non-monogamy doesn't either."

BY WALKER LANE

No comment can be made about the writings and ideas of Andy Smith without first recognizing the enormous contributions he made to the *Fifth Estate* for almost twenty years. During the first years of the century he and his comrades in Tennessee were the mainstay of this publication, and it is easy to say, that without his stewardship during that era, this magazine probably wouldn't exist today.

Perhaps his greatest accomplishment was our 40th anniversary edition which at 102 pages, tracing our intense history beginning in 1965, was the largest and most colorful issue we've published. Long thought to be out of print, we recently discovered a cache of them and now have it available again.

It's good to get Andy's reflections on the wild life he led and anyone who knew him during his years in Detroit publishing zines, rocking at punk clubs, living communally, working on the *Fifth Estate*, and taking part in the anarchist, and peace and social justice movements, also saw a lot of how he self-describes in his essay.

After a move to a polyamory commune in rural Tennessee, his intensity and apparently his demons grew. As he says, he went "cold turkey," and is now happily engaged in a conventional marriage and is a respected academic.

All said, I'm not sure what his experiences tell us although there is some advocacy here. On their "London Calling" album, the Clash sing, "You grow up and you calm down; working for the clampdown," suggesting that youthful exuberance gives way eventually to quieter later adulthood; "mature" is what it is often referred to as.

I would be more than hypocritical suggesting that being in a monogamous, heterosexual marriage is working for the



clampdown since I've been in one for decades. However, can you generalize about the consequences of attempts to go beyond what is socially acceptable from one's own experience?

Another long-term *Fifth Estate* staffer once glumly offered, "Monogamy doesn't work; non-monogamy doesn't either." So, where does that leave humans, or for that matter most species, that are polysexual by definition of being?

With all that we overwrite on our urges for sexual expression about love, family, companionship, and what we desire for a life of happiness, we are ultimately only genetically driven to reproduce. Period. The rest takes different forms depending upon the culture of a society in which we happen to live.

No society lives without rules regarding reproduction, i.e., who, when, even how in some cultures. Anthropologists think women

devised the original structures of family and kinship to assure the nurturing of children and reduce conflict within reproductive social units. Essentially so men wouldn't mate with their daughters, and there was a regularity of expectation in terms of relationships that excluded sexual jealousy and competition.

With the advent of patriarchal society, whose sexual rules were designed to suppress the power of women and guarantee the sanctity of property were, by their very nature, psychologically destructive to men as well as women. However, they left males always eager to circumvent the imposed strictures while prohibiting women from doing so.

But, the rules were always hard to maintain. Conventional patriarchal, religiously and legally enforced, restrictions on broader desire were upended in ecstatic communities as far back as the Middle Ages, in American intentional communities in the 19th and 20th century, and most recently during the so-called Sexual Revolution of the 1960s. And, always by radicals as well as the "cads" and "libertines" of which Andy speaks.

Radicals have always correctly seen the sexual repression demanded by the state and religion as a major element in the impediments to revolution. Radical psychologist Wilhelm Reich and others saw the thwarting of desire as a key component in the creation of authoritarian personalities, building toward a mass psychology of submission, the psychoanalytic bulwark of the state.

However, as Andy relates, his wild phase of polyamory was a personal disaster for him even though he gave it a good try and for many years. It's hard to live outside of society's norms and activity that does is mostly identified with

See Poly Response, page 38

BLACK CULTURE BEHIND BARS:

An interview with Nikicia G.

**White supremacy, censorship,
and resistance in an Ontario
women's jail.**

BY KELLY ROSE PFLUG-BACK

Jail is an environment that has been engineered to starve the senses. While creativity and culture at times seem to flourish among prisoners, these manifestations of the human drive for self-expression truly exist against all odds, and are often short lived due to institutional suppression.

For racialized communities in particular, this suppression of culture is a heavy reminder of the white supremacist nature of colonial state power. However, while the punitive measures of the prison system aim to demoralize and break the spirit, they can also have the contradictory effect of galvanizing prisoners by giving us no choice but resistance or spiritual death.

Experiencing racism and cultural repression while incarcerated has given poet and writer Nikicia G the inspiration to stand up, fight back, and encourage other women to do the same.

This interview was transcribed in January 2013 with a crayon-sized, prison issue pencil (the full sized ones presumably being too easily weaponized) on scraps of paper over a series of sessions when Nikicia and I were both inmates at the Vanier Center for Women, a provincial jail in Milton, Ontario.

Kelly Rose Pflug-Back: Tell me a bit about yourself and the experiences which brought you to jail.

Nikicia G: My name is really irrelevant. Behind these walls, I'm just a number in the eyes of the high authority. I am a Black



woman, 32 years of age, with six children. I have been incarcerated for 26 months now and still have three months left to serve. I am here because of a choice I made, and I accept that. But when it comes down to it, racial profiling is what led me to make this choice.

My husband, my kids and I were living in a neighbourhood that was predominantly white and Asian, and police assumed that to be living in that area we had to be selling drugs. This led to my husband's arrest, which led to police and the CAS [Children's Aid Society] coming to my house. My husband's charges were withdrawn eventually, but not before the CAS and police tore my family apart.

I lost my house and my income, and my children were sent to live with family. Out of desperation, I became involved in an illegal activity. Me, my husband, another black man and an Aboriginal [Native Canadian] man were arrested for importation of firearms and alcohol. At the time of our arrest, the police separated us along racial lines. They asked the Aboriginal man, who was the driver of our vehicle, to tell them what he was doing "with the black people," and he wouldn't get arrested. He told them, and was arrested anyway.

I'd spent 14 months behind bars [in a remand centre in Sarnia, Ontario] by the time trial was over. Myself, my husband and the other black man were found guilty of importation of fire arms and alcohol, although it was stated [in court] that our co-accused had smuggled the firearms across the border while the three of us stayed on Canadian soil. The charges were later dismissed from him because he

co-operated, while the three of us were sentenced to 3-5 years.

When you think about it, Aboriginal culture and black culture were both treated poorly by the white man. The natives had their land taken away. Black people had their bodies taken away. Both cultures were suppressed under the white man's control in different aspects, but face some of the same obstacles. Yet our communities are still divided against one another, instead of binding together to move forward and better ourselves and each other.

FE: I think in a lot of ways jail aims to break down women's self esteem by depriving us of access to education, books, or other ways of empowering ourselves. What kind of experiences have you had trying to access books and resources that are specifically by and for black people?

NG: There are no cultural resources here, no programs about black heritage or issues which concern black women. The library is very limited. The majority of the books are written for white folks. I just can't relate to most of them. I never grew up on a farm with a white picket fence.

After a lot of lobbying with two of the staff I was able to get some urban literature into the unit, but there are still only about ten books maximum. Authors like Nikki Turner, Cupcake Brown and Sister Souljah, I can relate to, whether it's about growing up in housing projects, hustling in the streets, having a single parent, to my roots in slavery; I can relate to it, because I can identify with the dark skinned character.

A guard opposed urban literature coming in to the jail because it is "all about drugs, gangs and crime," which makes no sense because you find the same material in books by white authors that are already in the library. I've talked to the jail's program coordinator about getting books by black authors, and she assumed that I just meant black history books. People don't understand that having novels which come out of black culture is just as important as having black history books.

As for breaking down women, the system does somewhat do that. You're entitled to your chance at parole, but that's really not the case. I personally waved my parole, I knew that I would be denied walking into a parole hearing based on I am black, I am on a serious charge, and I don't have a lot of support on the outside. Out of all the people that sit on the parole board, not one of them is black. I'm just a statistic to them, I'm not a human being.

FE: In what ways have you seen guards treat inmates differently based on racial stereotyping?

NG: What really disturbs me about women's provincial jail is that black women are treated like we are a danger and cause the most crime, but when you look at the actual population of the institution, blacks are not the majority. Automatically a black person is seen as loud, ignorant, and liable to cause trouble.

When I was in the Sarnia jail, which is smaller, I was called the N word by inmates and a "coloured girl" by the guards. Due to my charges I was labelled a "gang banger." I thought to myself at the time, what is this "gangsterism" they talk about? Wearing baggy pants, is that "gangsterism"? Three people rolling together, is that a gang? How are they going to preach about these things when they've never been there?

While the majority of guards here at the Vanier Center are not like this, there are those who make racist comments openly. One guard said while I was shovelling gravel that he felt like he should be holding a shotgun and whistling slavery songs.

It's funny, when I hear people say this person or that person is or is not racist, I say, "How do you know? You're white, I'm black, I can feel it." Only we can feel what the other person's hate is coming from. I just know what I feel—the look, the comments,

"People believe that Jamaican Patois is gibberish, but speaking Italian, German, Russian, etc, is not."

the fact that they are ignorant or oblivious to our culture. One person could say something and I know it's a joke, another could say the same thing and I just feel the negativity and the true meaning behind that "joke."

FE: Do you think it has an emotional impact on you and other prisoners to be cut off from your own culture while in jail?

NG: Coming from my own personal experience, yes it does. At one point I felt lost — I was on a wing with no other black people for a while. It had me stir crazy — I had no one to talk to that I could speak my language to, relate to. No one I could be myself around. People believe that Jamaican Patois is gibberish, but speaking Italian, German, Russian, etc, is not.

Don't get me wrong, I tried talking to everybody, but they looked at me like I had three heads. I cried myself to sleep one night, needing the contact of someone from my culture. When they eventually placed two black women on my wing, it made me feel somewhat whole, and not alone. It helped me do my time easier.

FE: I think a lot of the censorship that happens here has to do with the system's fear of inmates organizing and empowering ourselves. What are your thoughts on that?

NG: I think the system is a circle. They keep you down and stuck in it. They set you up, because that's how they continue to get their pay cheques. We don't have an inmate rights book. If you speak up for your rights or ask for an Ombudsman complaint form, you are quickly reprimanded and punished. They want us to keep believing that you cannot stand up for your rights while you are in jail.

To some women, jail teaches the same

things they were taught on the outside. When your boyfriend is beating you, don't stand up because you'll get shut down. When the system abuses you, it's the same thing. How is it that the system says we are supposed to stand up, says we have our own woman right to say "no," but in jail we must keep quiet about what goes on behind these cement walls?

FE: Based on your experiences, what advice would you give to people who want to support prisoners?

NG: To support prisoners, you have to hear the stories of different women, from all walks of life. You can never actually fully understand unless you've walked in their shoes. People need to make more of an effort to understand lower class people, and not be ignorant to how society looks upon and treats those who are poor and have a criminal record.

We need to rise up in ranking, and inform people on the real reason a person traffics firearms, or a person lashes out at the police. Illegal industries come out of poverty and inequality. Anger towards the police comes from the violence they have inflicted on us. There are so many ways we can be doing this, reaching out and volunteering in our communities, writing about what we have experienced and letting the world know. Knowledge is key, and information is power.

FE: How have the hardships you've experienced inspired you to want to change things for others, and what advice would you give to other women who want to find their voice, in prison or on the outside?

NG: I've been through a lot during my incarceration. My eyes have been opened so much. The way it is now, this is a place where you sit and watch the world on the outside change and grow, while all you grow is resentment and anger.

My advice to the next woman is, you can't give up. You have a voice, a voice that's meant to be heard. You have to speak that voice, and don't stop. When you get out of jail, you must not forget what you have endured. Always remember that when you leave that cell empty, someone else comes in and fills it, just like you did.

It is a cycle that needs help in being ended, and your voice could be that help.



Sex & Revolution

my flesh is rippling music dancing
as I move my hands my lips across your supple
body blending everything becomes bewildered unpretended
in these moments of ecstatic rhythm
reggae sweat your breath so still
lingering upon my lips
your body mine the last of the wine
spilled between us in a kiss
an offering not offered to some other god
but shared
these moments of ecstatic rhythm writhing
in abandon Dionysus could not have taught me
mysteries more powerful than making love
all acts of pleasure consummate rebellion
all conscious nakedness can shuffle off this mortal coil
and by expanding span the growing chasm between
Self and Not-Self
eliminating borders to abandonment's continuum
a communion of surrender and resistance
which is survival and our happiness
think this: distances are dangerous
illusions of distinctions are conclusions of
extinction
we must be in love with the world become it
to save it from our own self-hatred
lover, i caress the whole in you with every touch
turning us away from sure destruction
bring your lips again to mine
and seal our sweet conspiracy of sex
and revolution pleasure is our bread and wine
and Anarchy our paradise
chaos comes into the inner heart surrounds the world
around just at the moment we dissolve our barriers
against it in these moments of ecstatic rhythm
we become the everywhere and everything
at last, uncontrollable and free

—MARIE MASON

Supporters ask for a transfer

Why is Marie Mason in the Fed's Harshest Prison?

Supporters of imprisoned environmental activist Marie Mason, are fearful that the repressive conditions she currently experiences could worsen when a construction project inside of her unit in a Texas high security prison is completed.

Mason, serving almost 22 years in prison for non-violent eco-sabotage, is held in a high security, restrictive facility of a larger women's prison at the Federal Medical Center-Carswell in Fort Worth.

In February, Mason's attorneys filed a law suit against the U.S. Department of Justice to discover the reasons, known only to the federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP), why she was transferred in 2010 to the notorious Carswell unit after spending over a year at a Minnesota medium security facility as a model prisoner.

Attempts by Marie's lawyers to discover the reason for her unwarranted transfer to much harsher confinement conditions, using the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), have been thwarted suggesting there is much the government is hiding.

The feds claim they are withholding records because her case

Please write respectful letters to the Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, Charles E. Samuels, Jr., Federal Bureau of Prisons, 320 First St., NW, Washington, DC 20534. Ask that Marie be transferred to a minimum security facility near her friends and family.

See MARIE, page 38



Crowd at last year's exhibit of Marie's art at a Chicago gallery. See supportmariemason.org

"Sex & Revolution," also appeared in Fifth Estate, Summer 1989 and Spring/Summer 2005 [Fortieth Anniversary issue]

INDUSTRIALISM AND ITS DISCONTENTS

THE LUDDITES AND THEIR INHERITORS

BY JOHN ZERZAN

Nearly two hundred years ago, Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley gave us a classic warning about the hubris of technology's combat against nature. Her 1818 Gothic novel, *Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus*, depicts the revenge nature takes upon the presumption of engineering life from the dead. Victor Frankenstein and his creation perish; his "Adam" is as doomed as he is.

If this monster cannot be saved by his father/creator, however, today's cyborg/robot/Artificial Intelligence products do expect to be saved. For those at the forefront of technological innovation today, there will be no return to a previous, monster-free state.

From our hyper-tech world we can look back to Mary Shelley's time and see the prototype, the arrival of modern techno-industrial reality. Between 1800 and 1820, England underwent the strains, storms and challenges of the ascendant Industrial Revolution. We are living with the outcome of that decisive battle-ground time.

The philosopher Ugo Perone put it this way: "One day, the big O, with which the *Ottocento* [the 1800s] begins, exploded, and philosophy as the great tale of totality started to be abandoned. The age of specializations began."

Of course, few changes happen overnight. Industrial output had been tending sharply upward since the early 1780s. And one could easily look much further back, to deforestation in Neolithic and Bronze Age times, to find out why many moors and heathlands are now barren.

But it is in the early 19th century that power was passing from the hands of the titled landowners to those who owned the factories and foundries. Much more fundamentally, the time and space of social existence were fundamentally altered. As the equality of all citizens before the law began to emerge, so did the reality of an unprecedented subjugation or domestication.

Nothing in the canon of the (fairly recent) Enlightenment, with its claims and promises, had prepared anyone for this. The road to complete mastery of the physical and social environments was, indeed, opening, as the industrial system became, in Toynbee's words, "the sole dominant institution in contemporary

Western life." The picture thus presented was laden with far more pain and absence than promise.

With the nineteenth century begins the winter of the West. Spengler's conclusion, in *The Decline of the West*, is more apt than he knew. It was not a beginning, but the beginning of the end.

Dickens' depiction of Coketown in *Hard Times* did much to capture the repercussions of industrialism: the new mass society, ruled by the regime of the factory and its pace, its polluted and despoiled landscape, its inhabitants anonymous and dehumanized. Spengler saw how "the machine works and forces the man to cooperate," rendering nature beneath him as this "Faustian" machine passion alters the face of the earth.

There was a long lead-in to the pivotal developments, a long process of mechanization and privatization. In England, more than six million acres of open field and common pasture were enclosed between 1760 and 1844. The pressures of the new industrial society were increasing enormously, pushing the dispossessed relentlessly toward the despotic mills and mines. New power-driven shearing frames and fully mechanized spinning machines encroached on the relative autonomy of family-based handloom weavers, for example. By the 1820s the pace of change was dizzying.

Especially in the late 18th century, Enlightenment theories of rights were advanced as arguments against severe challenges to popular prerogatives. Although the dawn of 1789 had been a moment of great promise, the early idealism of the French Revolution was betrayed by authoritarian terror. In the first years of the 19th century, however, "the solidarity of the community [and] the extreme isolation of the authorities" were still political realities.

At issue, in an unprecedented way, is a new state of being, untouched by political claims and reform efforts: a world becoming decisively independent of the individual. The quantum leap in division of labor which is industrialism means the generic interchangeability of parts—and people.

From identity and particularity to the stage, in

Unions, then as now, exist to broker the relationship between owners and workers.

psychologist Joseph Gabel's term, of "morbid rationalism." Michel Foucault noted that up to the end of the 18th century, "life does not exist: only living beings." The stakes were as high as they could be, the ensuing struggle a world-historical one in this first industrializing nation. It's clear that the early French sociologist Emile Durkheim had it entirely wrong when he proclaimed "that in the industrial societies...social harmony comes essentially from the division of labor."

The march of the factories was a sustained attack on irregular work routines, in favor of the time-disciplined work environment. Centralized production aimed at control over recalcitrant and decentralized workers. By its nature it demanded discipline and regimentation.

Heretofore, the customary and numerous holidays from work were supplemented by the celebration of Saint Monday, a day of recovery and play following a typical weekend's revelry. Enshrined in custom and long-standing local tradition, the popular culture—especially among artisans—was independent and contemptuous of authority. Hence factory servitude did not exactly beckon.

Historian F.M.L. Thompson noted that it was "extremely difficult to find satisfactory workers," and that "even higher wages were not enough in themselves." For example, the reluctance of weavers (many of them women) to leave their homes has been widely documented.

But at least as early as the beginning of the period under review, the beginnings of the destruction of the handicraft artisan and the yeoman farmer could be seen. "The small agricultural cloth-making household units...each so easily identifiable by its tenter of white cloth—would be gone in a few years," observed social historian Robert Reid.

Manchester, the world's first industrial city, was one contested ground, among many other English locales, as everything was at stake and the earth was made to shift. By the late 1820s, Scottish philosopher Thomas Carlyle wrote this summary: "Were we required to characterise this age of ours by a single epithet, we should be tempted to call it, not an Heroical, Devotional, Philosophical, or Moral Age, but above all others, the Mechanical Age."

The widespread "hatred of authority and control" and "general levelling sentiment" meant that resistance was powerful and certainly predated the early 19th century. The Northumberland miners destroyed pit-head gear with regularity during clashes with owners, leading to the passage of no less than eight statutes directed against such destruction between 1747 and 1816. Quite ineffectual statutes, evidently.

The briefest sampling reveals the range of late 18th century contestation: the anti-toll Bristol bridge riots of 1793, the great food riot year of 1795 (when groups of women waylaid shipments of corn and attacked government press gangs seeking to kidnap men for military service), and naval mutinies at Portsmouth and the Nore in 1797, to cite only a few prominent examples.

Machine-breaking and industrial arson soon became focused tactics against the ravages of industrialism, and to some often hard-to-pinpoint degree, against industrialism itself. Such forms of combat are seen among the west England "shearmen and clothing workers, in the Luddite resistance" to the introduction of mechanized devices between 1799 and 1803.

This was also the time (1801-1802) of the underground workers' movement known as the Black Lamp, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Not coincidentally, the 1790s was the golden age of the Lancashire handloom weavers, whose autonomy was the backbone of radical opposition to the factory system.

Marx's idea of revolution was severely limited, confined to the question of which class would rule the world of mass production. But even on those terms he completely failed to predict which groups were most likely to constitute a revolutionary force. Instead of becoming radicalized, factory workers were domesticated to a far greater degree than those who held out against "proletarianization."

The quiescence of factory workers is well known. It wasn't until the 1820s that they were first drawn into protest against the progress of the industrial revolution.

"Class" as a social term became part of the language in the 1820s, a by-product of the rise of modern industry, according to Asa Briggs. "It was between 1815 and 1820 that the working class was born," as another historian, Harold Perkin, had it, but the distinctive consciousness did not, as noted, mean a militant, much less a radical orientation during the pivotal two decades under review. A workerist identity was "scarcely involved" in the Luddite risings between 1800 and 1820.

The most sustained Luddite destruction of newly introduced textile machinery occurred between 1811 and 1816 and took its name from Ned Ludd, a young frame-work knitter in Leicestershire who had an aversion to confinement and drudge work. More than just identification with Ned's famous frame-smashing episode, Luddism may be properly understood as a widely-held narrative or vision.

At the heart of this shared outlook was a grounded understanding of the corrosive nature of technological progress. The focus is underlined in Robert Reid's wonderfully-titled *Land of Lost Content*, wherein he describes a Luddite attack on the hosiery workshop of Edward Hollingsworth on the night of March 11, 1811.

Having successfully breached Hollingsworth's fortified works, frame-breaking, à la Ned, ensued. The armed workers proceeded "selectively. Only the wide machines which knitted the broader, cheaper cloth came under the destructive hammer." Such targeting exhibits a combative hostility to standardization and standardized, mass-produced life, hallmarks of industrial progress writ large.

Lord Byron, the most famous poet of the age, was moved to write, "Down with all kings but King Ludd!" More important was the very widespread support for Luddite actions. Across the area, according to historian E.P. Thompson, "active moral sanction [was] given by the community to all Luddite activities short of actual assassination."

Women did not play a key role in the machine-breaking attacks, but were very much a part of the movement. In the April 1812 assault on the Burton power-loom mill in Middleton, women were conspicuously present; five were charged with riot and breaking windows.

Parallel examples of militancy were the East Anglian bread riots of 1815, and the victorious five-month seamen's strike in the same year that paralyzed coal-shipping ports and the east coast coal trade. Frame-

breaking became a hanging offense in 1812, and repression hit its high point in 1817 with suspension of habeas corpus rights.

But upon the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, a long era began that was decisively centered on political reform (e.g., parliamentary representation) and trade unionism.

Unions, then as now, exist to broker the relationship between owners and workers. A more or less scattered, independent and often recalcitrant population becomes combined, represented, and disciplined via unionism. This is much less some kind of conspiracy than an accommodation to the great pressures pushing industrial wage-slavery.

As early as Lord Holland's 1812 efforts to channel Luddite energy in a reform direction, there had been interest in somehow moving it away from its real focus. Luddism had to do with something incomparably more basic than politics and unions, but it failed in its frontal assault.

A major late-inning target was John Heathcote's lace factory at Longborough in June 1816, and the Folly Hill and Pentrich risings a year later "can be regarded as the last flicker of Luddism in its desperate, violent and political phase." This last adjective refers to a key aspect of the defeat of machine destruction: its diversion into reform channels.

From this point on, objections were more often in evidence in approved contexts, but oppositional energies could still be found. In Bristol, for example, "gangs of disorderly fellows there assembled, throwing stinking fish, dead cats, dogs, rats, and other offensive missiles" during an election campaign. The "Swing" riots throughout southeast England in 1830-1831 harkened back to anti-industrial militancy.

Agricultural laborers who resented threshing machines that were turning farms into factories resorted to destroying them and burning owners' property. Their direct action and communal organization marked them as agricultural Luddites. Another, and pretty much final outbreak was the Plug riots in the summer of 1842, when a thousand armed workers held Manchester for several days in a general strike.

But the second and third generation came to accept as natural the confinement and deskilling of industrial labor. Only starvation could conquer a few holdouts, notably handloom weavers, terribly outflanked by the factories. What happened, or failed to happen, in the turning point years of 1800 to 1820 sealed people's fate. The ultimate victor was a new, much deeper level of domestication.

The Luddite challenge to the new order stood out, and continues to inspire. Another, somewhat neglected aspect or current was that of religious utopianism, known as millenarianism. This movement (or movements) shed virtually all association with traditional religious belief.

The millennials were anti-clerical and even at times anti-Christian, distancing themselves from that agent of social control, the Church of England. They promised a vast transformation; their prophets threatened to "turn the world upside down," similar to the aims of secular revolutionaries.

Millenarianism was "directed to the destruction of existing society," and the reigning authorities believed in the possibility that it "might be sufficient to spark off the explosive mixture of social discontent and radical sentiment" then prevailing.

The Methodist leadership, the main rivals of the Church of England, recoiled in horror from the Luddite momentum and likewise from the many faces of millenarian extremism, some number of which were breakaways from Methodism. The Primitive Methodist Connexion was steadily growing, along with the "magic Methodists" of Delamere Forest, and the "Kirkgate screamers" of Leeds, among the many disaffected offshoots.

Some of these (and other similar groups) were explicitly referred to as Ranters, recognizing a link to the Ranters (and Diggers) of the 17th century millenarianist rebellion. Already in the 1790s "cheap reprints of long-buried works of Ranter and Antinomian

[literally, anti-law] complexion" were circulating.

The Scottish Buchanites, followers of Elspeth Simpson Buchan, wished to hold all things in common and rejected the bonds of official marriage. The Wroetites were largely wool-combers and handloom weavers, fighting against the extinction of their crafts. The more numerous Muggletonians, led by the tailor Ludovic Muggle, offered a refuge to the oppressed and excluded.

A range of millennial faiths can be found among the myriad groups and sects. Joanna Southcott, with her thousands of Southcottians, was a feminist — but not a radical one. Some of her flock, like Peter Morison and John Ward, were on the fiery side; in 1806 Morison preached the confiscation of "all the property and land belonging to the rich."

Richard Brothers of the New Jerusalem proclaimed that "now is the whore of Babylon falling" and the future will see "no more war, no more want." Robert Wedderburn, a black sailor, attracted the "most extreme



"Marx's idea of revolution was severely limited, confined to the question of which class would rule the world of mass production."

and impoverished radicals" to his London chapel.

The millenarian impulse was by no means an isolated, cranky, or unrepresentative passion. In the 1790s it emerged "on a scale unknown since the 17th century," judged the English historian, E.P. Thompson. "From the 1790s to at least the 1830s, radical millenarianism could pose a real threat" to the dominant system, precisely because it did not accept the ruling paradigm or participate within it. It was an active critique of the deep assumptions of the ruling order.

Domestic servants and small shopkeepers were among the adherents, as well as artisans and other dispossessed craftspeople who were the spearhead of the Luddite ranks. In 1813, a New Connexion minister, George Beaumont, was charged with inspiring the Luddite attacks in the Huddersfield area.

Thomas Spence was an influential, apocalyptic figure who found inspiration in the 17th century visionaries. He reprinted a Digger tract from that era by Gerald Winstanley, and likewise attacked private property as standing against God's common storehouse. Spence was convinced that "God was a very notorious Leveller" and that it was possible and necessary for humble men to turn the world upside down.

Alas, the world wasn't turned upside down. The civilizing machine persevered through the storms. Religion, in its usual role, taught respect for authority and had a new weapon in its arsenal: the evangelical revival's campaign for industrial discipline.

William Blake, of "dark Satanic mills" fame, was an enigmatic, idiosyncratic figure who certainly played a part in this period. Not fully a millenarian or a Romantic either, Blake took as his central theme "the need to release the human spirit from bondage." Starting from an orientation toward class struggle, Blake ultimately opposed kingship, and rulership itself.

Blake's *Songs of Experience* (1790s) point in a radical and millenarian direction, and he provided a radical critique of the limits of the New Church of Swedenborgianism. But Blake can be characterized more as a Jacobin reformer than a revolutionary millennial. Consistency may be hard to find overall, though some observations, rendered in his own inimitable style, hit the mark.

He found the factory and the workhouse terribly wrong and, as with the Luddites, saw the destruction of traditional workmanship as the end of working people's integrity. Mechanized time was a particularly important target: "the hours of folly are measured by the clock, but of wisdom: no clock can measure," for example.

Blake's outlook on both nature and women has to be seen as quite flawed. His anti-feminism is hard to miss, and there is a contempt for nature, as female and therefore, secondary to the male. Social harmony is a major goal, but harmony or balance with nature, as championed by the Romantics or William Morris, for instance, was of no interest to Blake. He desired the "Immediate by Perception or Sense at once," but it did not occur to him to ground this desire in the non-symbolic natural world.

E.P. Thompson clearly went too far in asserting, "Never, on any page of Blake, is there the least complicity with the kingdom of the Beast." More accurate was his appraisal that few "delivered such shrewd and accurate blows against the ideological defenses of their society."

The first two decades of the 19th century were the heart of the Romantic period, and the course of this literary movement reflects what took place socially and politically in those years.

At the beginning, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley and others gave voice to "an explosion of millenarian and apocalyptic enthusiasm for the

new dawn." Writing in 1804, Wordsworth recalled the exhilaration of ten years or so earlier, when the French revolution announced a new world and the factory system had not yet metastasized: "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,/ But to be young was very Heaven!"

In its first bloom especially, Romanticism sought to reconcile humans and nature, consciousness and unconsciousness. As Canadian literary critic and theorist, Northrup Frye put it, "the contrast between the mechanical and the organic is deeply rooted in Romantic thinking." René Wellek, a comparative literary critic, noted that such thinking could be seen as "an upsurge of the unconscious and the primitive."

Events, soon to be defined by Marx and other industrializers as Progress, undid optimism and a sense of possibilities, as we have seen. Sunny Enlightenment predictions about the perfectibility of society were already turning to ashes as people became increasingly separated from nature and entered the state of modern, industrial slavery. A great sense of disappointment overtook the earlier aspirations which were rapidly being destroyed by each new advance of industrial capitalism. From this point onward, disillusionment, ennui, and boredom became central to life in the West.

William Wordsworth acknowledged the existence and importance of a spirit of wild nature, which Blake resisted. Wordsworth was particularly moved by the decline of the domestic or pre-industrial mode of production and its negative impact on the poor and on families.

Privation, a sense of what has been lost, is a key theme in Wordsworth. His well-known decline as a poet after 1807 seems linked to the pessimism, even despair, that began to get the upper hand. He saw that the Enlightenment enshrining of Reason had failed, and he abandoned Nature as a source of value or hope.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge's anguish at the erosion of community brought surrender and drug addiction. His *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* testifies to the erosion of values in the absence of community. His "Michael" poems completed a series on abandonment and meaningless loss. A major poet who collapsed back into Anglican orthodoxy — as did Wordsworth — and nationalist conservatism.

One who kept the liberatory Romantic flame burning longer was Percy Bysshe Shelley. Influenced by the anarchist William Godwin, Shelley's *Queen Mab* (1813) contains these lines:

Power, like a desolating pestilence,
Pollutes whate'er it touches; and obedience,
Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth,
Makes slaves of men, and, of the human frame,
A mechanized automaton. (III, 176)

Shelley's *Mask of Anarchy* (1819) is an angry call to arms following the government assault on protestors, known as the Peterloo Massacre (e.g. "Rise like Lions after slumber/In unvanquishable number"). But he too flamed out, lost his way. The Hyperion project was dropped, and a major work, *Prometheus Unbound*, presents a confusing picture. By 1820 his passion had been quelled.

Of aristocratic lineage, George Gordon, Lord Byron was a lifelong radical. He spoke out against making frame-breaking a capital offense, and defended the impoverished. His brazen, bisexual behavior shocked a society he despised. With Childe Harold and Don Juan, transgressors escaped their "just desserts" and instead were glamorized. Byron saw nature as a value in itself; his nature poetry is correspondingly instinctive and immediate (as is that of his

contemporary, John Keats).

He was the most famous of living Englishmen, but said goodbye to England in 1816, first to join forces with Carbonari partisans in Italy, and later on the side of Greek rebels, among whom he died in 1824. "I have simplified my politics into an utter detestation of all existing governments," he had declared.

Literary commentator Dino Falluga recognized that some celebrated the death of Byron and what he represented. Victorian novelist Edward Bulwer-Lytton wrote a few decades after the fact that thanks to Byron's death the culture was finally able to grow up. It "becomes accustomed to the Mill," rather than quixotically defending the Luddites as Byron did.

Expectations of change did, indeed, die with Byron, if not before. Frustration with individual disappointments, also with a generalized, now chronic condition. Now, the solitary poet becomes a true fixture, true to the reality that the poet—and not only the poet—is losing the last resource, one's own authority over oneself. Another deep loss of this era, perhaps the deepest. The age of no more autonomy, of no more hope of making things basically different.

The Gothic novel represents the dark side of Romanticism. It had been launched decades earlier, with Horace Walpole's anti-Enlightenment, *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), and outlived Romanticism considerably. Its rise suggests resistance to the ideas of progress and development. The more psychoanalytically inclined see the Gothic as a return of what had been repressed: "a rebellion against a constraining neoclassical aesthetic ideal of order and unity, in order to recover a suppressed primitive and barbaric imaginative freedom."

A common feature of many Gothic novels is a look backward to a simpler and more harmonious world—a connection to Rousseauian primitivism. Gothic's revolt against the new mechanistic model for society often idealizes the medieval world (hence, the Gothic) as one of organic wholeness.

But this rather golden past could hardly be recognized through the distorting terror of the intervening years. Gothic ruins and haunted houses in print reflected the production of real ruins, real nightmares. The trauma of fully Enlightened modernity finds its echo in inhuman literary settings where the self is hopelessly lost and ultimately destroyed.

The depravity of Matthew Lewis' *The Monk*, hailed by the Marquis de Sade, comes to mind, as does Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, which demonizes its own creation. Soon, however, the Gothic became as mechanistic a genre as the social order it rejected. Its formulaic products are still being churned out.

The formation of malleable character, adaptable to the regimen of industrial life, was of obvious importance to the various managers in the early 19th century. Hence, a key argument for support of schools was that they were "a form of social insurance." In historian Eric J. Evans' summary, "By 1815, the argument was not whether education for the lower orders was proper, but how much should be provided."

The dinnerware manufacturer Thomas Wedgwood wanted a rigorous, disciplinary system of education and tried to enlist Wordsworth as its superintendent. His response, in *The Prelude*, includes these stinging lines:

The Guides, the Wardens of our faculties,
And Stewards of our labor, watchful men
And skillful in the usury of time,
Sages, who in their prescience would controul

All accidents and to the very road
Which they have fashion'd would confine us down,
Like engines...

Private, usually Christian schools, received some government funding, but a national system of education was rather slow in arriving.

Food rioters, anti-enclosure fence-breakers, not to mention Luddites, could end up on the gallows, but a modern uniformed police force was not implemented much earlier than was a standardized school system. While those in authority had great need of law enforcement, they faced the deep-rooted hostility of the majority.

Prevailing sentiment held that personal morality should not be subject to scrutiny by the armed force of society and law. Police were opposed as "paid agents of the state who informed on their neighbors and interfered in private life."

Uniformed police were on the streets of London with passage of the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829, but strong antipathy to the new institution persisted. At a political reform rally in Coldbath Fields, London in 1833, a struggle broke out and three officers were stabbed, one fatally. The subsequent coroner's jury brought in a verdict of justifiable homicide.

The change toward formal policing was just one aspect of an enforced social shift already underway. Increased control of mores introduced laws against "public indecency," and other punitive measures were enshrined in the Vagrancy Act of 1824.

This was part of the transition from "a largely communal to a primarily state-oriented, bureaucratically organized and professionally supported civic culture," in the words of historian M.J.D. Roberts. Idleness was a mark against the overall industrial future, so the treadmill was introduced. (Idleness among the rich was quite different, needless to say.)

Unauthorized fairs were subject to suppression, though they showed considerable staying power; the Vagrancy Act was aimed at a variety of popular entertainments. The outlawing of "blood sports" like cock-fighting and bull-baiting may be seen as a positive move; but there was no talk of banning hunting of fox, rabbit, and deer by the upper crust.

Driven by the enclosure movement at base, privatization struck on all levels. Domesticity tended to crowd out the social, and happiness became "a fireside thing." Enclosure meant an absolutization of private property; enjoyment was increasingly private and confined. The home itself becomes more specifically divided, isolating family members within the household. Movement is toward segregation of the sexes and identification of women with domesticity. The family and its division of labor become integrated with the trajectory of industry.

Consumer demand for cheap manufactured goods was an underlying, emergent key to the Industrial Revolution. This "demand" was not exactly spontaneous; new wants were now very widely advertised and promoted, filling the vacuum of what had been taken away. The decline in traditional self-sufficiency was everywhere apparent; beer and bread were now more often bought than brewed and baked at home, for example. Standardized goods—and a standardized national language—were in full flow.

A stronger emphasis on the need for regular, predictable labor is shown by the prevalence of factory clocks, schedules, and timetables; also, domestic clocks and personal watches, once luxury items and became consumer necessities.

By the 1820s, nostalgic images were being reproduced using the

kinds of technology that erased the lost, commemorated world. As a relatively self-sustaining arrangement of life, rural society was ending, fast becoming a commercial item to be wistfully contemplated.

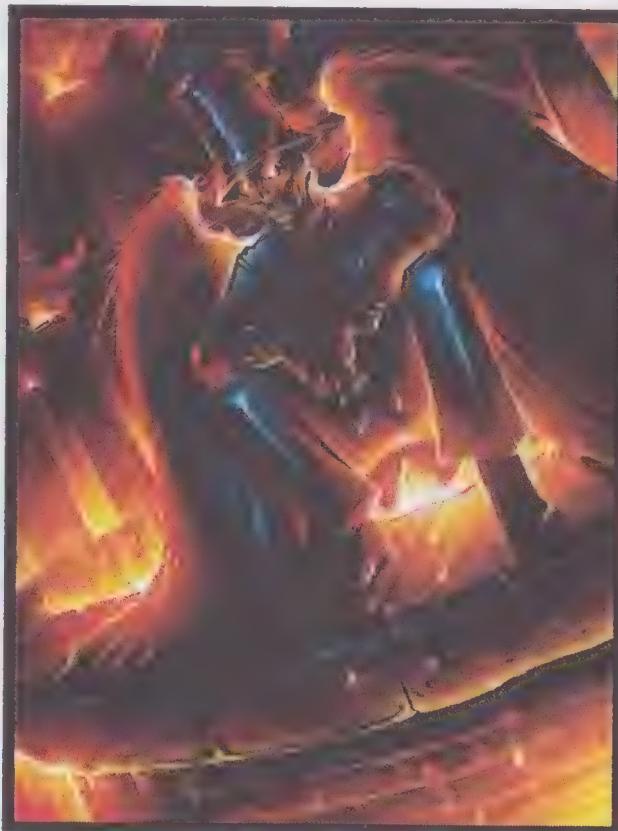
Bulwer-Lytton wrote in 1833 of the ascendant standards of decorum and conformity: "The English of the present day are not the English of twenty years ago." Diversions that many had enjoyed throughout their lives — public drinking, many holidays from work, boisterous street fairs, etc. — were seen as disgraceful and disgusting under the new order.

As the average person was being subdued and tamed, a few were lionized. Industrial modernity ushered in what is so prominent today, celebrity culture. The flamboyant actor Thomas Kean was an early star, but none surpassed the fame of Byron. He was one of the first ever to receive what we would call fan mail, that is, unsolicited letters on a mass scale.

Massified life also initiated widespread psychic immiseration. The best-seller of 1806 was *The Miseries of Human Life*, testifying to the large-scale anxiety and depression that had already set in, inevitable fruit of modern subjugation.

The door that was forced open decisively between 1800 and 1820, roughly speaking (and I do mean roughly), inaugurated both global warming and an ever-mounting rise in global population. Globalizing industrialization is the motive force behind both developments.

A deepening technological dimension becomes more and more immersive and defining, driving the loss of meaning, passion, and connection. This trajectory continually reaches new levels, at an ever-accelerating rate. As early as the 1950s, new technology was hailed by many as a "Second Industrial Revolution." In 1960, educator Clark Kerr



and others announced that "the world is entering a new age — the age of total industrialization."

As the 19th century waned, William Morris, who disliked all machinery, concluded that, "Apart from the desire to produce beautiful things, the leading passion of my life has been and is hatred of modern civilization."

In *News from Nowhere*, his 1890 novel combining utopian socialism and soft science fiction, expresses a wonderful reversal of perspective, in which the character Ellen speaks from a time that has set aside the techno-desolation:

"And even now, when all is won and has been for a long time, my heart is sickened with thinking of all the waste of life that has gone on for so many years."

"So many centuries, she said, so many ages."

Extensive footnotes and references for this essay are available on the Fifth Estate web site www.fifthestate.org.

John Zerzan's articles, which introduced primitivist and anti-civilization ideas to the anarchist milieu, first appeared in the *Fifth Estate* in the late 1970s. His web site is johnzerzan.net. John hosts a one hour live radio show, "Anarchy Radio," Tuesdays, 7:00pm, PST, and streams at KWVA 88.1 FM in Eugene, Oregon.

Illustration: "Industrial Hell" —Dan Kitchener
<http://dankitchener.deviantart.com>

Call for Submissions: Fifth Estate Fall 2013 #390

Deadline: August 15 Publication date: September 15

Issue Theme: Mad! A word whose meaning ranges from rage to enthusiasm to mental illness and more, even as an acronym for the truly insane Cold War nuclear policy of the U.S. and the Soviet Union [Mutually Assured Destruction].

Your ideas for news articles, essays, and art are welcome. Submit manuscripts for short pieces and proposals for longer essays, along with graphics and photographs to: fef@fifthestate.org or Fifth Estate, PO Box 201016, Ferndale, MI 48220, USA. Please put "Submission 389" on the subject line of e-mail.





NEANDERTHAL LIBERATION FRONT

"... a little Neanderthal DHA ,
between one to four percent, exists
in (some) people today... The
Neanderthals are not dead; some of
them live on in us."

Svante Paabo
Max Planck Institute, Neanderthal Genome Project

Resistance against alienation begins
w/ Neanderthal Liberation Front circa
40,000 BC. Giants of folklore stand for
archaic secret society's perpetual uprising
launches itself again & again against
humanity itself
to which we do not quite belong
& are not by blood particularly loyal.
Our clans descend from the pre-human
the Pre-Adamite Kings —
Caves — the Hollow Earth — the grotesque grotto —
bones — huge old black bones w/ metallic luster —
bones of the Cave Bear worshipped in the Ice Age.
Someday this world's merely human regime
will crumble or be overthrown & we neo Neanderthals
will come out & reclaim the day.

FOUR PERCENTERS UNITE

BY PETER LAMBORN WILSON

NORTHWEST ANARCHIST INQUISITION UPDATE

Anarchist Grand Jury Resisters Freed from Prison

BY GOLDIE SILENCE

Until late February, three courageous anarchist grand jury resisters, Matt Duran, Katherine "KteeO" Olejnik, and Maddie Pfeiffer, were held in solitary confinement in a federal detention center in Seattle. [See Winter 2013 Fifth Estate.]

The three are refusing to cooperate with a government investigation into the Northwest anarchist movement. It was initially believed the hearings were focused on vandalism that occurred on May Day 2012 in Seattle. However, based on the vast majority of questions asked at the grand jury hearings, it is obvious that federal and local law enforcement agencies are interested in much more.

On February 27, a federal judge ruled that Duran and Olejnik had proven their resolve to refuse to testify, and were released from the prison where they had spent five months. Pfeiffer was let out of solitary at the end of February and released from prison for the same reason as Duran and Olejnik on April 11, after having been almost four months inside.

The government is intent on mapping and suppressing anarchist groups and their connections using broad surveillance, the same way they did with radical movements of the past.

FBI documents reveal that government agencies were surveilling anarchists in the Northwest well before a May Day action where demonstrators, some wearing black clothing, attacked plate glass windows and doors at the William Kenzo Nakamura Federal Courthouse, at banks, and at retail outlets, in downtown and adjacent areas.

Another Northwest activist, Leah Lynn Plante, was also subpoenaed, and initially imprisoned for refusing to testify was released from prison after a week's detention. Whether or not the release involved testimony about anarchist associates is unclear.

In July 2012, the federal district court issued

"I refuse to appear because I despise the state... I refuse to help them on the principle that prisons should be abolished..."

Kerry Cunneen
Portland activist



Grand jury resister Maddie Pfeiffer says, "Shh!"

subpoenas and search warrants which were used in violent raids of homes in Seattle and Olympia, Washington, and Portland, Oregon by federal agents who seized electronics, clothing, and political literature.

While the government generally keeps the intent and contents of grand jury proceedings secret, federal prosecutors say the current hearings are part of an "ongoing violent

crime" investigation.

Solidarity with the grand jury resisters is widespread including courthouse support demonstrations, leafleting, benefits and fund raising to help with legal fees and prison commissary expenses, writing protest letters to federal prosecutors, and writing to the prisoners. It also includes activities involving more challenges to legality, such as banner drops, graffiti, disabling security cameras, and even calls for on-line attacks on government web sites by the hacker group, Anonymous.

Several people who anticipated being summoned before the grand jury seem to have simply gone traveling. One of them, Portland activist Kerry Cunneen, who received a subpoena, refused to cooperate or to willingly submit to prison.

Cunneen released a statement stating in part: "I will not cooperate with this grand jury nor will I in any way aid the state in its efforts to imprison people. I stand firmly in solidarity with the actions taken... during the May Day demonstration and all action taken against the state and capital towards the goal of a more liberated society."

In a January radio interview, Cunneen said: "I refuse to appear because I despise the state... I refuse to help them on the principle that prisons should be abolished... I refuse them with a visceral hatred for the law and all of the lives they ruin. I am glad for the little bit of resistance I can provide in denying them information. I respect and admire Matt, Kteeo, and Maddy for making the sacrifice that is involved in sitting for an undetermined jail sentence. I just am not personally willing to take a step in the direction of my own jail cell."

More subpoenas as well as criminal charges could very well be generated by this grand jury before its scheduled term ends in March 2014, and its term could also be extended.

For more information: Committee Against Political Repression at nopoliticalrepression.wordpress.com

Back on the streets, Fifth Estate writer reflects on prison experience

**Kelly Pflug-Back
starts books tour but
doesn't forget those
still incarcerated**

BY KELLY PFLUG-BACK

I was released from state custody in February after serving seven and a half months in the Vanier Center for Women, a provincial jail in southern Ontario, for charges stemming from the G20 summit protests in Toronto during the summer of 2010. While the judge sentenced me to 15 months, I was given four months credit for the one month of jail time and two years of house arrest I served while awaiting sentencing.

Like most events which one spends a substantial and prolonged amount of time anticipating, the morning of my release felt oddly anti-climactic.

I shared sad embraces with the women on my cell-block, was escorted by two guards through the halls to the admissions and departures wing, changed out of my prison uniform, and walked out the gate into the waiting arms of my partner and a close friend of mine.

In following weeks, my relief at being back home with the people I love has been edged with a feeling of conflict: I am torn, half of my heart rejoicing while the other half aches in sympathy with the pain and suffering still being endured by the women who became like a second family to me during the months I spent inside.

While many of the people I grew to know and love will be released soon enough, the thought of their freedom is shadowed to me by the knowledge that each cell left empty will simply be filled again as the cycles of racial profiling, the criminalization of poverty and sex work, the war on drugs,

and the neo-colonial abuses of Indigenous peoples continue.

About a week after becoming re-acquainted with the outside world, I set off on a tour doing speaking events about women in the prison system and promoting my first book, *These Burning Streets*, which was published by Combustion Books while I was in jail.

The tour was organized by the Women's Co-ordinating Committee for a Free Wallmapu (WCC), a group whose mandate is to link the movement for indigenous sovereignty of Mapuche Peoples in the semi-autonomous region of what is known as southern Chile with that of other Indigenous, anti-capitalist, and anarchist struggles across Turtle Island.

One reason why the WCC specifically align themselves with anarchist struggles is that state structures, regardless of whether they claim to be liberal-democratic, communist, or socialist, most often share the common trait of denying the sovereignty of Indigenous peoples and their territories.

While taking the time to set up my tour while I was in jail, the WCC has also been supporting a number of Mapuche prisoners criminalized by the Chilean State for their involvement in the struggle for independence and sovereignty.

In an interview transcribed by the WCC, Silvana Lamilla, one of three Mapuche women recently imprisoned after a police raid in Temuco, Chile, offered a description of many prisoners' attitudes towards incarcerated activists which I could hugely relate to. She said, "I find myself at ease, the rest of the female prisoners have given us a warm welcome in solidarity...despite the circumstances we continue to dream;

even despite the many months and years of this eternal enclosure, they continue to be beautiful, free and crazy!"

As I sit in Greyhound buses and the passenger seats of friends' cars on my way to and from different cities, I often find myself distracted by thoughts of what my former compatriots are doing, feeling, and thinking.



A woman prisoner [not our writer]

I scrawl quick hellos, well wishes, and inside jokes on postcards and scraps of note paper, posting letters to my jailed comrades at every stop, letting them know that the words, wisdom and experiences they shared with me are what give me the strength and inspiration to do this tour.

So far my travels have taken me from Toronto to a number of Canadian cities. I have had the privilege of participating in panel discussions not only with members of the WCC, but also with anti-fascist activists from Greece, grassroots anti-poverty and anti-border activists, and a beautiful selection of political poets and musicians.

These collaborations have been fertile ground for discussion of intersectional approaches to activism, bringing together

A REVIEW TWO CHEERS FOR ANARCHISM?

James C. Scott: Two Cheers for Anarchism; Six Easy Pieces on Autonomy, Dignity, and Meaningful Work and Play, Princeton University Press, 2012, 169pp., \$35 cloth and e-book

BY PETER WERBE

If we are expressing rankings by hurrahs, I would give James C. Scott's book two cheers as he does for anarchism. Still, this middling mark is much higher than his slim volume of anarchist principles has garnered from other reviewers who express this philosophy.

In fact, many writers have not given it even a single whoop, concentrating on the book's flaws — criticisms with which I agree. Still, there is too much here eloquently expressing the anarchist ethos to completely dismiss Scott as an "anarcho-liberal," as Malcolm Harris did in the *Los Angeles Review of Books*.

Jim Scott, a supporter of this magazine, is a professor of anthropology at Yale University, and identifies himself as a "mediocre part-time farmer and beekeeper," whose scholarly work is written through what he designates as "an anarchist squint."

For instance, his last book, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, and another, *Weapons of the Weak*, illustrate how people without power resist those who attempt to exercise it over them. It is by flight, sabotage, sloth, and a host of other tactics commonly available to those who hate the social and economic situation they've been forced into, but can't directly confront those who wield power.

I don't know whether Scott would like his brand of anarchism categorized but it falls squarely within the individualist tradition of Max Stirner and others. Scott quite properly sees the state as squashing the individual and quotes approvingly from Pierre Proudhon's famous aphorism, "To be governed is to be..."

However, as Scott states in his introduction, the reader should not expect accounts of the heroic collective struggles fought throughout history to overcome the oppression of the individual he describes.

Instead, he writes of the malign effect of the "authoritarian and hierarchical characteristics of most contemporary life-world institutions—the family, the school, the factory, the office, the worksite," which "destroy the autonomy and initiative of their subjects." This is a description of Wilhelm Reich's mass character structure of submission; one that all authoritarian systems depend upon to have their rule seen as natural and challenges to it appear as hopeless.

Much of the derision of Scott comes from a single paragraph which expresses, according to his critics, a pessimism and an abandonment of revolutionary anarchist principles. He states in the book's preface:

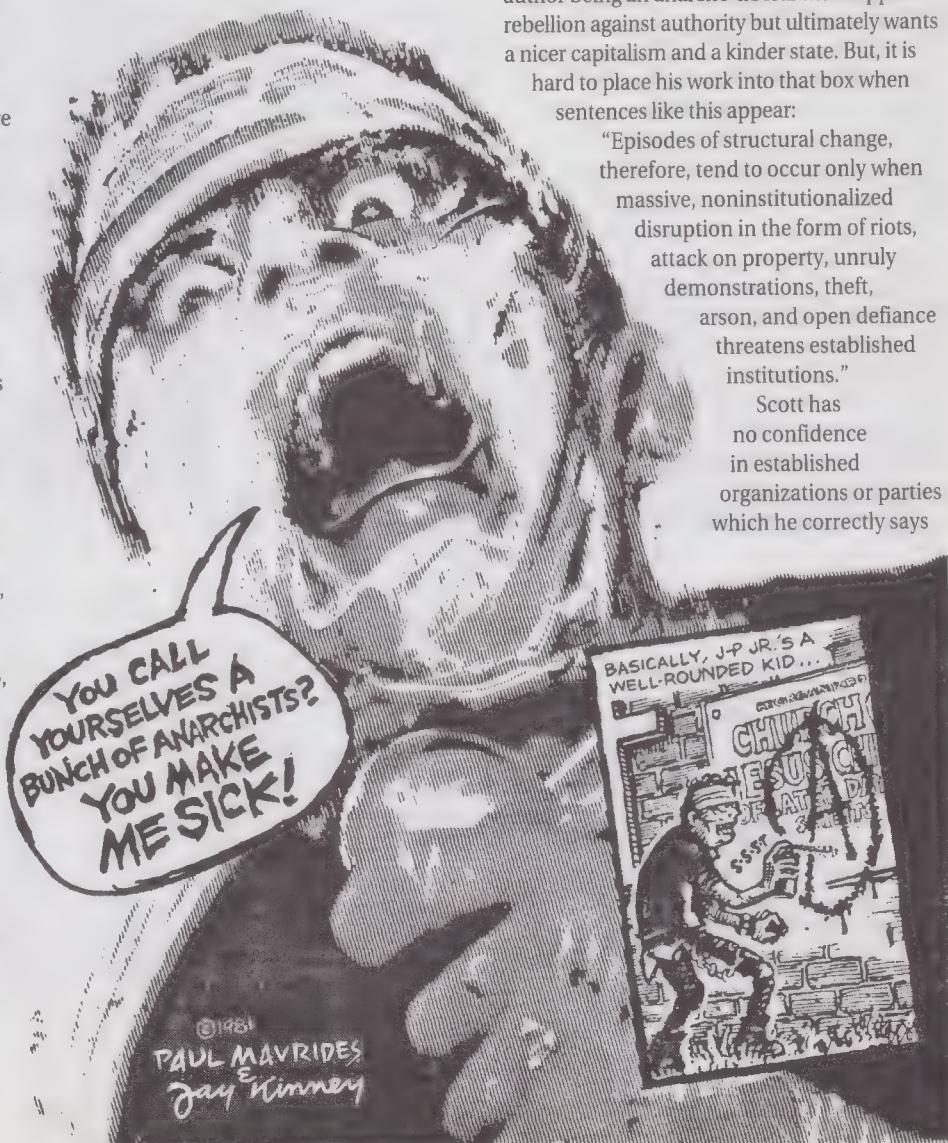
"I believe both theoretically and practically, the abolition of the state is not an option. We are stuck, alas, with Leviathan, though not at all for the reasons Hobbes had supposed, and the challenge is to tame it. That challenge may well be beyond our reach."

This is certainly open to the charge of the author being an anarcho-liberal who supports rebellion against authority but ultimately wants a nicer capitalism and a kinder state. But, it is hard to place his work into that box when

sentences like this appear:

"Episodes of structural change, therefore, tend to occur only when massive, noninstitutionalized disruption in the form of riots, attack on property, unruly demonstrations, theft, arson, and open defiance threatens established institutions."

Scott has no confidence in established organizations or parties which he correctly says



have an investment in maintaining things as they are. His sentences just above seem to have more in common with Black Bloc perspectives than any sort of liberalism or leftism. However, if they are divorced from a call for the abolition of the state and capital, can't they be seen as only a militant reformism?

If I had edited his book, I would have suggested to the author that he pose his contentious paragraph as a question, as a nagging potentiality, that the state and capital have grown to a point, as Jacque Camatte suggests in *The Wandering of Humanity*, of having run away from human control; that the entire planet has been integrated into one monstrous work/war machine with a population, not only psychologically domesticated to the state and capital, but with a demographic which makes the anarchist vision of decentralized, cooperative villages an impossibility.

Maybe that condemns me to the same reformist hell into which Scott has been tossed by some anarchists.

Those thoughts occur to me at my darkest moments, but are there many of us who really think anarchist revolution is on the immediate agenda and with a possibility of success? Aren't we, in a good part of our political work, although motivated by a desire to abolish a ravenous economy and its vicious police apparatus, most often involved in trying to stop the worst abuses of the empire? In other words, "tame it," as Scott advocates.

Still, he would have done well to have phrased it differently. For one thing, capitalism only gets more murderous and destructive as it approaches its limits of nature and population. It might be that reform will be as difficult to achieve as revolution, so it makes sense to seek the vision we want, rather than being content to settle for what seems "possible" at the moment.

The other problem with his book for which he deserves no cheers and even a few boos, is his curious contention that there is something admirable in the petit bourgeoisie, the small shopkeepers and landholders of the world, which he identifies as the planet's largest social and economic class.

He touts them as men and women who oppose large governmental or corporate institutions, who put an emphasis on autonomy, and are often a bulwark against the massification of society.

The neighborhood convenience store



photo: The Layabouts <http://www.thelayabouts.com>

versus Walmart, is what he means.

In an e-mail exchange, Scott wondered why anarchists weren't more supportive of small enterprises. My first thought was that he must be aware of Sinclair Lewis' novel, *Babbitt*, and he must have read Dickens.

To be sure, the small woolen producers of Northern England who rose up in the early 1800s under the rubric of the Luddites against the establishment of the first factorium with their power-driven looms meet his definition, as perhaps do those t-shirt street peddlers in Nairobi who sell wares comprised of what we donated to our local Salvation Army.

But, too often the small shopkeepers and producers in impoverished nations keep their employees in near slavery with horrid working conditions even ones created by so-called progressive aid programs, such as micro-loans for women.

In the West, think Scrooge for the archetypical mentality of a boss of a small store: cheap, mean, suspicious, demanding. The worst low paying jobs with terrible supervisors I ever had were at small stores; the best were at big companies.

Additionally, Scott must know that the petit bourgeoisie are the backbone of every modern fascist movement from Mussolini's Blackshirts to today's fanatical Tea Partiers. Marx predicted that as capital began to be defined by monopolization, this class would be squeezed to the point where their interests would coincide with a revolutionary proletariat and oppose large business owners

in tandem with the workers.

History has proved him wrong however, with the economic crisis of the 1930s being an ideal example. Unable to deal psychologically with being driven downwards as a class, the small capitalists opted to join the Nazis, Franco or whatever fantasy politics happened to promise they could maintain their precarious hold on their place in capitalist society.

Wasn't it a tip-off to Scott when Francis Fukuyama, a conservative political theorist, endorsed his book, presumably for his appreciation of the class of merchants described above. Talk about being damned by faint praise. That alone should have sent Scott back to his computer for a rewrite, but, instead, Fukuyama's endorsement is featured on the back of the book.

Realizing there is a tendency for critics to concentrate on objections to a text rather than its virtues, John Sinclair, a former *Fifth Estate* staff member, once said we spend all of our time arguing with whom we are in 98 percent agreement. In political circles, this is often true.

So, I will end with an endorsement. Scott's book is a sharp, well-argued advocacy for anarchism [including his points with which I disagree] that suggest an eyes-wide-open variety rather than a squint.

Peter Werbe is a long-time *Fifth Estate* staff member who has written over the years under a variety of *nom de guerres*.

Emma Goldman: A Love for Revolution

Emma Goldman:
Political Thinking in the Streets
 Kathy E. Ferguson, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Lanham, Maryland, 2011, 362pp, \$35.

BY DAVID PORTER

In her fascinating book on Emma Goldman, Kathy Ferguson focuses on Goldman as a dynamic anarchist thinker whose differing social activist contexts and personal challenges produced constantly evolving theoretical perspectives.

Ferguson reminds us of Goldman's whirlwind energy for the cause—writing 200,000 lifelong letters, delivering over 10,000 public speeches, making frequent cross-country speaking tours, writing numerous articles and books, editing an important anarchist journal, *Mother Earth*, for over a decade and constantly immersing herself in anarchist networks, including various passionate long and short intimate relationships.

Additionally, she endured numerous arrests, spent over three years in prison, lived many years abroad, and directly experienced the Russian and Spanish revolutions.

To gain a dramatic sense of her central political stature, Ferguson asks us to imagine in today's context a powerfully articulate and defiant "young working-class immigrant woman from a despised racial group," consistently and charismatically electrifying for decades huge crowds and networks of liberals, radicals, and anarchists across the country while constantly being demonized by capitalist elites, the government, and the media. Goldman's reputation and her writings have made her still an icon, generations later, especially for anarchists, feminists, and civil libertarians.

Ferguson nevertheless insists on addressing more recent writers who have criticized Goldman's weaker emphasis on racism, her self-admitted compromises in sexual relations and her alleged unoriginal political theory. In chapter 5, she makes clear that Goldman made numerous denunciations of racial oppression in the U.S. and abroad. But Ferguson also explains how and why she failed to account for the deep negative legacies of slavery as well as the nature and power of institutional racism.

Essentially, she writes, Goldman understood racism primarily through the experience of

Jews, failed to encounter more than a few African American radicals and was too deeply committed to a "European class/state lens" and a focus on patriarchy to comprehend or analyze the crucial dynamics of racism in the American setting.

In chapter 4, Ferguson creatively and complexly analyzes Goldman's privately self-described erotic dependency struggles through a prism different from that of her feminist critics. By examining Goldman's attraction to theater and disdain for film and her embedded literary aesthetics of 19th century "romanticism/realism" versus overly analytical and elitist modernism, Ferguson emphasizes Goldman's preference for didactic and inspiring imagery in her dramatization of struggle, at personal and broad social levels both.

She parallels Goldman's passion for erotic fulfillment with her love for revolution, each with enormous transformative power and each involving tension between gratification and consistency. Though experiencing disappointments in each realm, she refused to give up the ideal. "She insisted on our power to change the world" and she applied that expectation to her own erotic politics as well as to the revolutionary movement.

Finally, it was Goldman's refusal to accept any limiting orthodoxy of anarchism and her constant learning from personal and political challenges that led her to develop her own "political theory in the streets," a lively dynamic between her passionate activist engagement and generalizing reflections on successes and failures.

Ferguson cites many aspects of Goldman's

evolution and uses analytical tools from contemporary critical theorists, such as Foucault, Deleuze, Butler, Panagia, Warner, Bourdieu and Rancière to better understand their significance. In doing so, she emphasizes the generic nature and importance of "place-based theory" and discursive networks of power.

In less technical terms, she's referring to theory emerging from direct engagement in specific political contexts as well as the manner by which powerful elites frame political discussion to create a dominant false social consciousness that protects their own interests. She thus provokes readers to consider as well the evolution of their own political theorizing, anarchist or otherwise.

Ferguson's intent is to demonstrate "a different manner of political thinking, one that is located specifically in a radical political space, articulated passionately amidst intense personal relationships in response to an immediate set of questions about oppression and possibility." She specifically describes the contexts of and Goldman's contributions to "anarchist time" (a temporality of periodic and special actions encouraging the expansion of anarchist space and potentials of revolution) and "anarchist space" (the extensive daily encounters and conversations among activists, writers, correspondents and audiences receptive to the anarchist message).

These as well as the broader realities of multi-dimensional social oppression and violent repression all fueled Goldman's passionate political engagements. In portraying the anarchist milieu, Ferguson draws richly

Ferguson asks us to imagine in today's context a powerfully articulate and defiant "young working-class immigrant woman from a despised racial group..."



from her impressive research, much in the Berkeley-based Goldman archive, into the well-developed movement of Goldman's era, including the previously neglected strong presence of anarchist women.

Chapter 2 is devoted to profiling the early anarchist movement and chapter 6, supplemented by an expansive and useful website, to the role of women within it.

These two chapters help to place readers within the social imaginary of anarchist consciousness in Goldman's era and help to explain Goldman's powerful linkage of feminism and anarchism. As well, chapter 1 vividly conveys the extent of anti-labor political violence and the overall contexts of social oppression that encouraged and justified her revolutionary rhetoric.

Beyond the state's direct coercion, Goldman was well aware of, and often discouraged by, the power of the media and of religious, political and sexist conditioning in clouding consciousness and inhibiting liberatory action. But she believed in the eventual ability and desire of everyone to work toward personal and social emancipation if only they recognized the various hypocritical glues of the "social order."

Goldman was thus committed, prophet-like says Ferguson, aggressively to make people think deeply and radically, to rupture "acceptable reality" through exposure to and acceptance of an alternative anarchist vision and then to act accordingly.

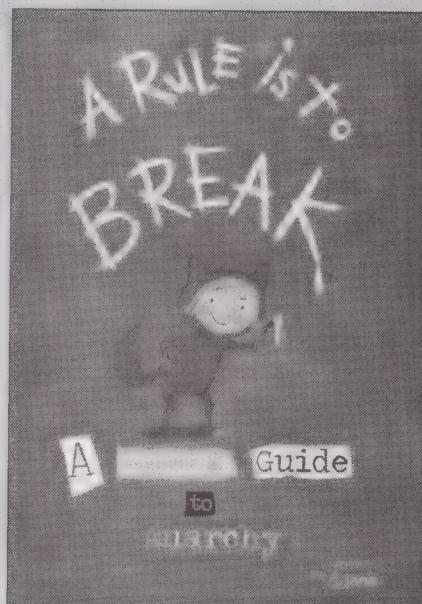
A great value of Ferguson's book is to help people think about the real shaping influences on Goldman's politics as well as Goldman's methods of shaping the political world (personal and broadly social) herself.

However commendable her vision, courage and influence, Goldman is still better understood and more easily related to by contemporary readers, not as a distant icon, but as a woman constantly struggling with, learning about, and reassessing issues important to us all.

David Porter is a retired SUNY professor of history and political science and the editor of *Vision on Fire: Emma Goldman on the Spanish Revolution*. He is the translator and author of *Eyes to the South: French Anarchists and Algeria*, a grassroots history of the past six decades of Algerian history from the perspectives of the French anarchist movement.

A review of his latest book appears on the next page.

Breaking Rules: Anarchy for Kids



A Rule is to Break: A Child's Guide to Anarchy, John Seven and Jana Christy
Manic D Press, 48pp, \$14.95
www.manicdpress.com

BY PETER WERBE

Maybe you can't tell a book by its cover, but a snappy title can gain an author attention where a lesser one might not. In an era where "everyone's an anarchist," James C. Scott's book title, *Two Cheers for Anarchism*, reviewed elsewhere in this issue, was just the right formulation for even The New York Times to feature it. One suspects if he had given a full three cheers, it may have been ignored.

Similarly, this little children's book from a small publisher benefited from its subtitle, gaining it international attention. Its notoriety was increased when Eric Odom, a Tea Party whacko, denounced it not only for its advocacy of anarchy for children, but because the book is endorsed by former [way, way back] Weatherman, Bill Ayers, who for almost all of his adult life

has been a respected educator.

Odom, managing director of Liberty News Network, went ballistic, as reported in the London Guardian. "The book alone is horrendous enough. But it gets even worse when we realize Bill Ayers, radical terrorist leftist and friend of Obama, not only endorsed it through his Twitter account, his comments in support of the book are listed on the actual Amazon.com book page," the right winger frothed.

But, thank you, Eric, for doing what an army of publicists couldn't.

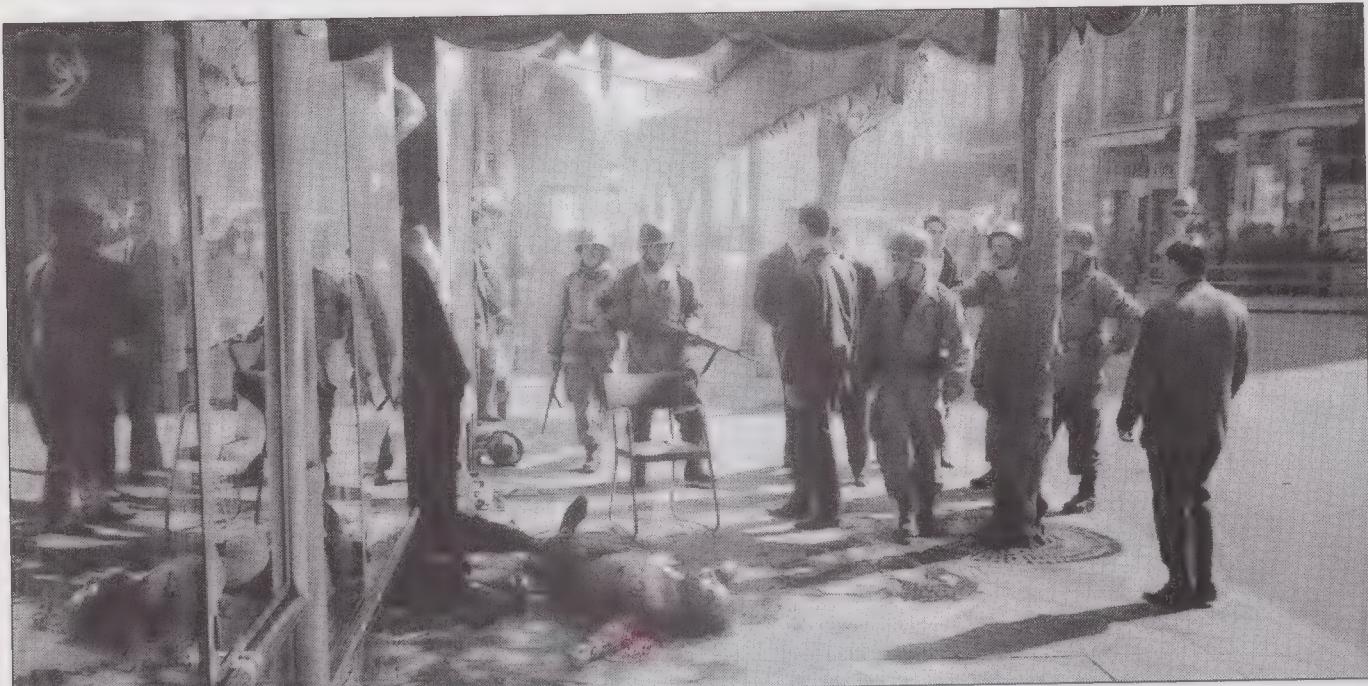
The book is dedicated to urging children to have a sense of autonomy and discovery through Christy's charming graphics and its accompanying short aphorisms. It opens with the statement, "The opposite of rules is anarchy!"—a credo I'm not sure all parents would like their children to embrace, although the husband and wife authors have two together and say they raised them in fidelity to those principles.

And, they're not saying anything goes. Their "No Rules!" page has the added proviso of "Be nice," heading off any charge that what they suggest will engender a *Lord of the Flies* scene among kids.

Anarchist circle A's adorn the front and back leafs, and are consistent with many of the suggestions for children's responses and behavior such as, "When someone says work, you say, WHY?" I did that and got my allowance cut off!

Some of the pages even the Teabaggers would agree with such as, "Think for yourself," or "Build it; don't buy it," but I'm sure they would part company with, "Stay up all night!" and "Baths never again." Probably most parents would blanch, as well.

The difference is, Teabaggers would order their children to obey under threat of punishment, whereas, most anarchist parents would allow questions of behavior open to discussion.



French colonial troops stand over the body of a slain Algerian revolutionary, Algiers, 1962

French Anarchists in the Algerian Revolution

Eyes to the South: French Anarchists and Algeria, by David Porter; foreword by Sylvain Bouloque
AK Press, 2011, 550pp, \$25

BY KATHY E. FERGUSON

David Porter's hefty new book is a remarkable resource for scholars and activists seeking to understand the relationship among French anarchists, French colonization of Algeria, and Algerian anti-colonial movements.

Porter has located and translated many hundreds of articles in dozens of anarchist journals in order to chart French anarchists' analyses of Algeria over the last sixty years. His summaries include extensive quotations from the original sources, set within a rich appreciation of Algerian and French historical and contemporary struggles.

The great strength of the book is that it lets French anarchists speak for themselves. A few of the actors who stand out include influential public intellectuals Daniel Guérin, who "became the movement's leading published commentator" on Algeria, and Albert Camus, "whose basically anarchist orientation" was

clear although he did not label himself as such.

Porter sketches the political orientations of many influential groups. The Fédération Communiste Libertaire (FCL), with the journal *Libertaire*, saw national independence as a step toward a classless society and was willing to collaborate with non-anarchists, endorse revolutionary violence, and even participate in electoral politics.

The Revolutionary Action Anarchist Groups (GAAR) with their journal *Noir et Rouge*, were a loosely federated group which supported the Algerian revolution but rejected the FCL as "Bolshevik." The Fédération Anarchiste (FA), with the journal *Le Monde Libertaire*, had more reservations about supporting national struggles, given their tendency to replace one master with another, and concentrated instead on opposing "the spread of military repression in Algeria and fascism in France."

These are only a few of the many groups Porter examines.

The weakness of the book is the flip side of its strength: the plethora of detail tends to obscure any central narrative. Porter's instincts are those of an archivist rather than a storyteller. The encyclopedic thoroughness

of the book can make it difficult to find a main thread.

For example, I became intrigued by the Kabylia insurrection of 2001; yet there is no single section of the book devoted to this massive revolutionary upheaval. Instead, there are nearly 100 entries in the index under "Kabylia insurrection," and the reader has to piece together the tale herself.

Porter gives the reader substantial assistance to make her way through the forest of detail. The book begins with a useful timeline of events in Algeria since the beginning of the nationalist revolution in 1954, as well as brief background essays on Algeria and on French anarchism. Most books do not have, or need, a section on "Book Organization and Methodology," but this one does.

Here, Porter explains his system of dual introductions to each section: the first introduces the main events and actors in Algeria for that time period, while the second summarizes the main currents in the French anarchist movement during the same period of time.

A recurrent theme in Porter's account is the relation of anarchism to anti-colonial

nationalist struggles, to states, and to other progressive actors. Anarchists oppose the oppressive racist practices at the heart of colonialism, but how is that opposition best expressed? Should anarchists support struggles for national liberation because they strike blows against the empire, or oppose them because they usually end up creating new states?

When governments support workers' self-management (*autogestion*), is that a step toward or cooptation of an anarchist workplace? Is it better to enter coalitions around partially shared agendas, or to maintain an independent stance at the cost of isolation? Does anti-militarism require non-violence?

It is not surprising to learn that there are no simple answers to these questions. Porter's contribution is to show us, rather than simply tell us, the complex circumstances within which anarchists addressed these questions in relation to the Algerian struggle.

Porter's methodology makes clear the central importance of publications for anarchist communities. While other radical groups might gravitate toward political parties, unions, or other collective projects, anarchists create and circulate words. Of course, they do other things, too — organize rallies; create petitions; provide material aid, including weapons, to rebel groups; support military deserters and draft evaders; organize strikes; engage in various kinds of direct action.

Yet, there is an enduring symbiosis between anarchism and its texts, a persistent dedication to educating people and questioning authorities with the power of the written word. Within the predictable account of the splintering and consolidating of anarchist groups, Porter shows a noble continuity — anarchists' commitment to radical public speech.

It is difficult to read this book without becoming weighted down by the appalling levels of violence inflicted on the Algerian people over the last 60 years. There are the "big numbers": as many as one million Algerians killed, 3 million displaced, in the anti-colonial struggle, and about 60,000 pied-noirs (citizens of Algeria from France) killed.

Competition between rival revolutionary groups resulted in another 10,000 dead. Then, the "Black Decade" of the mid-1980s to mid-1990s, an "endless traumatic nightmare experienced by Algerians caught in the middle between the extreme violence of racial Islamist guerrillas and the police and army":

as many as 100,000 dead; widespread torture, kidnapping, and imprisonment of anyone deemed critical of the regime, including "westernized" women, journalists, teachers, professors, doctors.

There were the "small numbers": popular artists, singers and writers imprisoned or assassinated. School children hideously murdered. Explosions in markets. Dozens of victims at every demonstration. Small wonder that one of the slogans of the brave young people in the Kabylia rebellion was, "You can't kill us. We're already dead."

Several fascinating episodes beg for their own stories. Among them are the remarkable successes of workers' self-management in the Algerian revolution. After independence and the departure of the pied-noirs, workers on farms, in factories and in service industries across the country took over their workplaces and ran them, as Porter says, "with few resources of their own, except years of work experience and observation."

Self-managed workplaces expanded to include one quarter of the Algerian male work force. Porter stresses the vulnerability of *autogestion*, since there was no organized anarchist movement or strong revolutionary syndicalist consciousness to support it, leaving it dependent on the government.

While at first the state appeared to endorse these arrangements, in the end, local workers' control was incompatible with the state's centralizing agenda. In some ways this situation was the opposite of that in Spain during the revolution of the 1930s, where generations of anarchist organizing preceded and guided the seizure of the means of production.

While the self-organizing enterprises in Spain were wiped out by military conquest, the self-managing sector in Algeria "was piece by piece transformed into state-run industrial enterprises, collectivized but hierarchical state farm units, more centralized and consolidated *autogestion* farms, or privatized farms and factories."

Another provocative thread in Porter's account is the remarkable "Berber Spring" of 1980, which saw the emergence of strong anti-state movements based on the cultural roots of Berber identities in the Kabylia region. They spread across the country before being violently repressed by the state. Called the *aarch* movements, these were a sort of indigenous anarchism in which grassroots assemblies organized themselves and coordinated interactions through a federated

structure, calling on old and respected traditions to confront or evade state power.

The Kabylia rebellions reemerged in 2001 with stronger participation by women and young people. Post-situationist Jaime Semprun wrote a detailed account of the 2001 insurrection in Kabylia for the CNT-AIT website.

He said, "having reestablished village assemblies for the sole purpose of uniting together against repression, the insurgents discover other purposes for which they can be the instrument. The great art of these returns to the past by revolutions when they revive ancient forms of community is to rediscover more than what was lost."

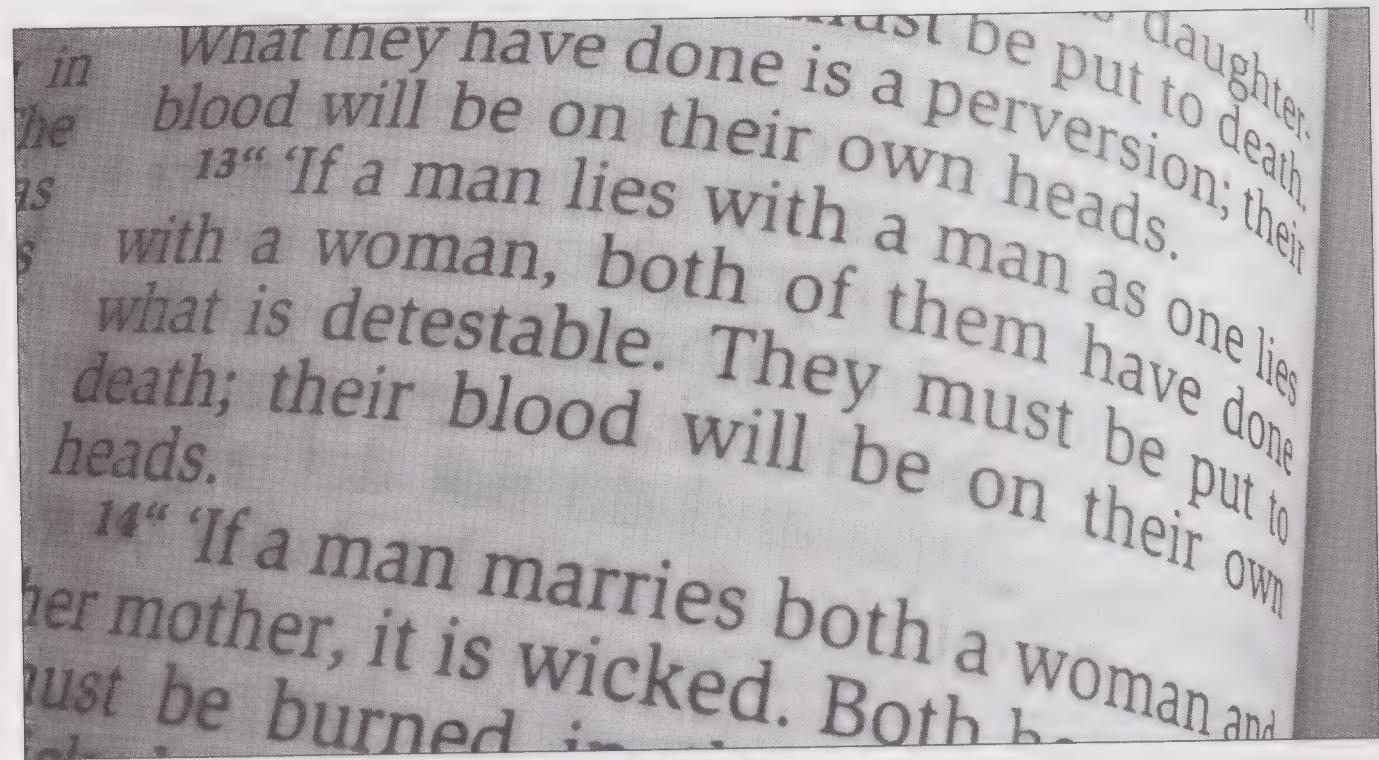
This insight is key, in my view, to seeing anarchist-friendly ways of life in indigenous practices. Semprun calls our attention to anti-hegemonic cultural traditions as active reservoirs of potential transformation, not dead collections of lost pasts.

In his conclusion, Porter briefly presents ideas of contemporary Algerians whose ideas move toward anarchism: writer Tarik Ben Hallâj; union organizer Achour Idir; singer Lounès Matoub; writers Mohamed Kacimi (El Hassani) and Mezioud Ouldamer; musician and poet Lyachir Vouchlaghem; painter Abdelkader Guermaz.

He ends by reflecting briefly on the contrast within anarchism between "optimists," who see possibilities for radical change on the horizon, and "skeptics," who hold those dreams up to critical scrutiny. Porter rightly suggests that a viable anarchist movement needs both, and that anarchism flourishes best when rooted in particular times and places, rather than abstracted from geography and history.

Despite the many tragedies he recounts, I find in the Algerian stories much support for my own "optimistic" perspective. I would like to hear more from David Porter, in his own voice, about what has made him optimistic and what, skeptical, in his close study of French anarchists and Algerian rebels.

Kathy Ferguson teaches political science and women's studies at the University of Hawai'i. She is the author of *Emma Goldman: Political Thinking in the Streets*, and is writing a book on anarchist women, 1870-1940. See her website at politicalscience.hawaii.edu/lists/emma-goldman/index.html for information about her books.



How Sex Got Bad: Religion Makes It So

Sex and Punishment: Four Thousand Years of Judging Desire by Eric Berkowitz
Counterpoint Press, Berkeley, Calif., 2012

BY ROD DUBEY

Hebrew law changed everything. Prior to this, homosexuality had generally gone without notice, but in Hebrew law it became (along with many other sex acts) punishable by death. Although many of their laws drew from past practices, for the Hebrews, private sex acts, and everything associated with them, became God's business.

Sex could now be sin and a source of guilt. Sexual transgressions were viewed as a crime against the community and punishment was administered by the church. 'Nothing before or since has so effectively equated the body, the state, and the collective moral soul,' writes Eric Berkowitz in *Sex and Punishment: Four Thousand Years of Judging Desire*.

It wasn't that there were no rules before. There have always been laws to protect male rights and public order. Adultery prohibitions, for example, protected against male violence and heredity issues. But, as noted by

Berkowitz, Hebrew law began a trajectory that led to Christian and Muslim sex law. (Worth remembering the Biblical origins next time we hear of a stoning or some other cruelty in a rural Muslim village.) And, the Judeo-Christian idea that private sex can be a crime against God, the state and the church still underlies sex law in the West as it exists today.

Sex and Punishment is a lively and engaging history of sex laws told through a colorful recounting of cases, mostly in the US and Europe, up to the end of the nineteenth century. We hear the story of a Northern Rhodesian dragged to a tribunal by his wife after awakening to discover him in the unnatural act of kissing her breast. We learn of the singular workplace standard where a medieval peasant serf could knock off work in the fields to satisfy his wife if she seemed randy enough to go elsewhere if he didn't. Told with humor and outrage, sex law is always placed within a political and cultural context.

In Hebrew law, for the first time, the body itself became regulated. Individual bodies were linked to the state so that what made one's body 'unclean' also weakened the body politic. Blood and semen could now, under

certain circumstances, cause impurity. Rules around menstruation and circumcision were adopted and forms of unmarried sex (such as bestiality and gay sex) were condemned on the basis of being 'unclean.'

By the Middle Ages the body itself was under attack from Christianity. Flesh was an evil that inhibited the attainment of a spiritual life. Married sex was a necessary evil to increase the tribe and this was its only justification. Whatever interfered with pregnancy, such as masturbation and coitus interruptus, was condemned. Sex among couples would even become subject to penalty for dereliction of duty; a change that amounted to a war on pleasure and desire.

Several hundred years after Hebrew law was developed, Christianity emerged and spread. It may have remained a marginal movement had it not gained enormous power by being adopted as the official religion of the Roman state. Two mutually supportive sets of courts would henceforth govern sex, church and civil. (It was not until the 18th century, with Protestantism, that legal control over morality in the West shifted entirely from the church to the state.)

Throughout this history we see how sex laws were used to reinforce state and church power. The fear that sex unleashes an anarchic threat to authority seems at times to have been both believed and cynically used to attack opponents. The Roman crackdown on bacchanals, for example, led to the killing of thousands. Its stated aim, that they were seditious, was not true. The massacre was used to consolidate state power.

What constitutes a sex crime always reflected local beliefs and the needs of authority. In spite of the general restrictions against adultery in Sparta, for instance, it was often overlooked because it was a warrior society where soldiers weren't at home and the state needed a constant source of recruits.

"Throughout this history we see how sex laws were used to reinforce state and church power. The fear that sex unleashes an anarchic threat to authority seems at times to have been both believed and cynically used to attack opponents."

It is not just difference that stands out through history, but sameness. The differential treatment of the powerful when they transgressed rules occurred in every culture.

In one instance, in thirteenth century England, many rapists were priests and they tried to get their cases heard in church courts because they would be treated leniently. In continental Frankish areas, of the same time period, the fine for rape depended on who the victim was. Raping a servant became an affordable option for a few; something in the order of a speeding ticket.

The hypocrisy of those who made the rules was another perennial. During the rigid Middle-Ages, to cite only one instance among many, prostitution was often allowed as a safety valve. This led to both municipalities and the Catholic Church owning brothels across Europe, and in some cases it was nuns servicing the customers.

The most prominent historical constant, without a doubt, was the lack of legal protection for women. Men controlled

women's bodies as part of their ownership of them. Rape was frequently seen, not as a sex crime, but as a property crime against a husband or father. An Assyrian father whose virgin daughter was raped might get, in return, three times her dowry value from the rapist (who would be forced to marry the girl and restore the father's honor – her feelings of no consequence) and gain possession of the rapist's wife, as his slave, to rape whenever he chose.

In fifteenth century Venice, courts viewed rape as a form of seduction. As late as nineteenth century America, a slave was property to be treated however her 'master' saw fit. Since the children of female slaves were also deemed to be slaves, rape became

when it came to upper-class women, however. A lesbian couple in nineteenth century Europe was absolved of the crime of lesbianism because of their social status. Well-born women, it was decided, could not feel sexual attraction to other women. Sexual relations, in slave holding America, between a black slave and a white woman, were inevitably seen as rape because of the view that a respectable white woman could not possibly feel sexually attracted to a black man.

The treatment of slaves as less than human typified the racist attitudes that always followed sex laws. In the Middle-Ages, Jews were viewed as being in league with Satan and animals. In 1222 a deacon who married a Jew was executed on a charge of bestiality.

It is worth noting that rules about sex did not always just flow down. The nineteenth century changes to the age of consent (e.g. in Delaware it went from age seven to age twelve) reflected public concern about the exploitation of children. Crackdowns on trafficking children into prostitution and against male prostitution were responses to a public outcry about older wealthy men (a group that was growing because of the industrial revolution, so there were class overtones) taking advantage of young men and women.

In *Sex and Punishment*, Berkowitz has done an excellent job of showing that Western sex law is the institutionalization of Judeo-Christian belief.

Missing from his account are the laws around abortion but he hints at a second volume covering the last century so perhaps this is yet to come. The abortion debate shows that even now sex law is characterized by the attempt to impose religious views on all of us and to take away our ability to control our own bodies.

It shows too the persistence of the patriarchal fear of women's sexuality and the desire of some religious minorities to control life itself.

Rod Dubey writes on social and cultural theory. His latest book is ...*beautiful in my worn clothes...The Transgressions of Love* (Charivari Press, 2012) which argues that love goes where it chooses, refusing the attempts by state and institutional authority to control it. As such, love is an oppositional power which demands ethical relationships and a radical politics.

Visit charivaripress.com/beautiful.html

an instrument of economic growth.

Women's sexuality was always problematic to the male makers of law. Fear of female sexuality contributed to the execution of thousands of women as witches, their animal lusts having driven them to Satan (who often appeared as a goat or other animal in order to copulate). Female sexuality outside of marriage could get one killed in most cultures.

We read that some ancient Greek women would register as prostitutes to avoid execution if caught in a tryst. Rape was frequently blamed on women's seductiveness and their cases rejected. This was a reflection of the Judeo-Christian idea that Eve's sexuality and luring led to man's fall from grace.

(The prevalent medieval idea that if a woman became pregnant through rape she must have enjoyed and agreed to the act, astoundingly re-emerged only last year with U.S. Representative Todd Akin's bizarre claim that only 'legitimate rape' can lead to a pregnancy.)

Women's sex drive was frequently denied

THE ANARCHIST UTOPIAN IMAGINATION

Second Reality: What the future could look like.



"There's a kind of desire that, whenever it arises, is censored scientifically, morally, politically. The ruling reality tries to stamp it out. This desire is the dream of a second reality."

-P.M., *bolo'bolo*

BY MARGARET KILLJOY

In the introduction to his anarchist utopian book, *bolo'bolo*, author P.M. describes why we need visions of positive futures. Second realities, as he calls them, are necessary, else we find that "the only choice [is] that between the Machine's own dream and the refusal of any activity."

We need ideas — not blueprints, not codified maps — of what to yearn for, so that in our work here and now we have a direction in which to walk.

And for that, we have utopian fiction.

What is utopian fiction anyway? Utopia is a strange genre, to be sure. It's a serious challenge to write compelling fiction that balances the exposition of a society with plot, character, tension, and all of the things that draw readers to narrative writing in the first place. For some, the idea of "utopia" conjures up images of societies that are both impossible and, likely, authoritarian and prescriptive. But

that doesn't need to be the case at all: As anarchists, we can and have dreamt of societies, of second realities, that challenge dogmatic approaches to the design of society.

Perhaps the most talented authors to turn their attention to the description of anarchist (or anarchist-ish) societies are Ursula le Guin with *The Dispossessed* in 1974 and Aldous Huxley with *Island* in 1962. Le Guin's planet Arras is a resource-poor, organizationalist anarchist society that the author, in the good anarchist tradition of questioning everything, shows to be quite imperfect.

Huxley, for his part, has drawn on Kropotkin and other anarchist thinkers to describe Pala, a utopian psychedelic community that is oddly both a monarchy and a federation of self-governing units.

Other books have come from within the ranks of anti-capitalist activists, like P.M.'s 1983 *bolo'bolo*, Starhawk's 1993 *The Fifth Sacred Thing*, and Graham Purchase's 1994 *My Journey with Aristotle to the Anarchist Utopia*.

P.M.'s society is perhaps the one I'm most drawn to, but his book

is also closer to being a manual than a novel. It describes a fairly clearly post-left vision of cooperative, autonomous groups that cover a very heterogenous and fascinating world. It also, of interest to the contemporary reader, lays out a five-year plan that can have us living in an anarchist world by as soon as 1988.

Starhawk describes a post-collapse West Coast and a free, diverse society that practices permaculture, free love, and magic. Purchase's work is set in a far-future world that has been carved into bioregions but it is united by work syndicates. Its prose is clumsy but its politics are fascinating and much of the science it describes is becoming more in vogue only now.

All three of these books describe fascinating places in which I'd be quite happy to live.

There are other titles out there, to be sure, but most of these books are two decades old, at least. Globally, nation states are entering a new round of crises and anarchism is on the rise — so where are the new anarchist utopian novels?

Besides being hard to write, the utopia has gone out of style—to both the modern mainstream reader and the modern anarchist — because we haven't had much in the way of hope.

The future is looking bleak, and it's much easier, and perhaps more cathartic or relevant, to write about fighting against dystopian tyrannies than it is to write about the creation or continuation of an anarchist society.

Insurrectionist and nihilist tendencies in anarchism have done us a lot of good over the past few years, and one of the critiques they have brought to the forefront is that we cannot be prescriptive in our actions or our theory. But having dreams, having utopias, doesn't have to turn us into partisans, where we fight with words and knives about whether to live in *bolo bolo* or *The Fifth Sacred Thing*.

As a surrealist friend once told me, utopias don't have to be followed dogmatically. They can simply be the exercise by which we free our imaginations, by which we escape, if even only for a moment, the confines of global capitalism, and see the possibility of something different — even if we don't know quite what that thing will be.

It is for that reason that Combustion Books, an anarchist-run publisher of genre fiction, has announced an interest in publishing new anarchist utopian novellas: *The Anarchist Imagination*. Submission guidelines can be found on combustionbooks.org.

Another Sexual Revolution, please



The Unbearables Big Book of Sex
Autonomedia, UnBearable Books, 2011
Editors: Ron Kolm, Carol Wierzbecki, Jim Feast, Yuko Otomo, Steve Dalachinsky, Shalom Neuman, 650 pages, \$18.95

BY STEVE DALACHINSKY

As a privileged co-editor of this brilliant anthology, I feel a bit abusive of my powers and morally wrong to be, at the same time, reviewing it. But with all due respect to those involved and to you, dear reader, and in the spirit of true anarchism, fuck that.

I am overlooking this dilemma since I am more than proud to be a part of this enterprise which ranges from high camp to high sophistication, from the funny to the serious, and from the clinical to the clinically insane.

Just the graphics alone, which were edited by Shalom Neuman, my wife

Yuko Otomo, and myself, are beyond a wide array of emotions and spectacle incomparable to any I know.

The visuals and large range of writing styles, moods, stories, poems, straight, gay, happy, sad, intellectual, onanistic, fetishistic, down right sloppy stupid, mundane, real, imagined, comical, funny, witty (and, yes, there is a difference between those three), even real life hooker tales, go to the very heart/sex of the Matter, be it male or female – as in below the belt.

As one of its editors, Ron Kolm, states "The original intention of the book was to follow in the sexually celebratory steps of D.H. Lawrence, Rabelais and Anais Nin— sex writing as yet another device to help free us from the retro-50s culture we find ourselves stuck in. What we got instead was an amazing trove of sexual sadness; unrequited love, forced anal intercourse, break-ups, etc. The book should have been titled: The Unbearables Big Book of Sad Love & Sex.

That's the reason I ended the book with Peter Lamborn Wilson's piece which calls for a new Sexual Revolution.

I will stray from my anarchistic call to individual freedom and not state any specific favorite pieces or authors since I know and love too many of them and because I think, rather than even try to sway your minds, I recommend you buy this book at St. Marks Books in New York, on Amazon, or at a sex shop, sorry, I mean bookstore, near you and judge for yourself from the more than 150 writers and artists involved.

FE note: The anthology also contains an essay from the Fifth Estate on Wilhelm Reich's theories of the connection between sexual repression and authoritarian personalities.

Marie Mason

From page 18

involves ongoing criminal investigations. The actions to which Marie pled guilty occurred in 1999 and 2000!

The severity and injustice of Marie's sentence can be seen in a recent appeals court decision in April that vacated the 15-year sentence of an arsonist who started a 2010 Detroit fire after prosecutors admitted the term violated a 7-year plea deal.

Detroiter Samson Wright admitted starting the fire in a store that injured seven firefighters including one who was paralyzed and whose life is told in the documentary "Burn." Marie agreed to a plea deal which should have resulted in a sentence of only 15 years, but here the presiding judge intentionally ignored what had been agreed upon.

Seven years for grievously injuring first responders with cash as the motivation compared to Marie who hurt no one by her actions and was inspired by the desire to protect the earth.

Marie's attorney, Susan Tipograph of New York City, who filed the suit, says her client is a political prisoner. The complaint she filed in Washington DC states in part, "'Mason is one of many activists who have been labeled a domestic terrorist for engaging in activities with the potential to

disrupt corporate profits and, as a result, received an unduly harsh sentence for crimes that are routinely punished with much less severe consequences."

Marie is locked down with prisoners who the government designates as the most dangerous inmates, and those convicted of what they consider egregious crimes. Carswell holds Aafia Siddiqui, who was convicted of attempting to murder U.S. service personnel at Afghanistan's Bagram Air Force base, and a Colombian revolutionary, known as "Sonia," as well as some who are awaiting execution.

Siddiqui was framed to cover up the fact that she was accidentally shot by U.S. soldiers; the accusations against her were brought as a cover-up. See her support site at freeaffia.org.

The fear is that Marie's wing, which currently houses up to 20 women prisoners, will be transformed into a supermax facility or control management unit once construction is completed where the overtly political prisoners will be placed and have their few remaining privileges removed.

Besides the legal front, Marie's supporters and those of Siddiqui are increasing the effort to secure the release of all women held in the Carswell cement hellhole in which no one belongs. On March 30, more than 40 protesters gathered at the prison gate to demand freedom for the women political prisoners held here, which also includes the famed, but ailing activist attorney, Lynne Stewart.

Taking it right to the dungeon gates rips off the veil of secrecy the BOP hopes will keep their Bastille-like dungeons out of public consciousness. The demonstration was organized by a socialist group and while it focused mainly on Siddiqui, they recognized the plight of her sister prisoners.

Marie's world-wide support group is launching a campaign which calls upon the government to transfer her to a minimum security prison and one closer to her Michigan friends and family. Please write respectful letters to the Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, Charles E. Samuels, Jr., Federal Bureau of Prisons, 320 First St., NW, Washington, DC 20534 requesting that Marie be transferred out of the Carswell administrative unit.

The effort is currently taking shape at our press time, but the details will be available at her support web site supportmariemason.org. A mass response requesting her transfer will hopefully be effective, so we urge readers to make their voices heard.

**Stay Up to Date on How You Can Help
Marie Mason & Other Green Scare Victims
supportmariemason.org**

Poly response

From page 15

one's youth. It is during this period that the young can and do activity that normally doesn't work as well as one ages.

And, not just in sexual affairs. Living communally and financially on the edge, train hopping, fighting the cops at demos, excessive intoxication, and a host of other activities is generally associated with young people, but maintaining those into one's 50s or 60s usually doesn't work too well.

So, maybe Andy just grew into later adulthood, and maybe the heartbreaks and broken relationships were more a product of his admitted addictions than anything inherent in polyamory. Excess in intoxicants can make any relationship fail regardless of the number involved.

Polyamory and other non-conventional sexual bonding forms are extremely difficult to maintain and usually are not of long-term duration in the manner of conventional partnerships.

But, does that tell us not to try; to take Andy's experience and failures as a cautionary tale which will warn young [and some older] people to only accept what we know works — monogamous marriage? But, whoa! Wait a minute; those don't work very well either.

Andy is the second *Fifth Estate* staffer who has regretted his non-conventional living arrangements. Another, who was so regretful that he had published a book on group marriage, *Sexual Scarcity: The Marital Mistake and the Communal Alternative*, that he spent a year trying to buy up every copy in existence. Unfortunately for him, it's still available from Amazon, but at five times its original cost.

I doubt whether admonitions or warnings

coming from religionists or anarchists are going to prevent people, particularly younger ones, from finding ways to express their sexuality other than in prescribed ways. In the 1950s, Frank Sinatra sang, "Love and marriage go together like a horse and carriage." Not much of a recommendation.

In Nathaniel Hawthorn's, *The Scarlet Letter*, not even the righteous Rev. Dimmesdale and Hester could hold back the flood of desire that swept over them which was supposed to be rigidly constrained. If those repressed Puritans couldn't, do we really want to counsel others, particularly radicals, to not even make attempts at bursting sexual boundaries?

Let's affirm all forms of sexuality between consenting partners including the ones Andy and I have chosen, and for the ones who try the wildest, most anarchic, wish them the best in their attempts.

None of us want to work for the clampdown.

London's Freedom Bookshop Torched

Neo-Nazis Suspected

The London bookshop Freedom was damaged in an arson attack in the early hours of February 28. Nobody was hurt in the fire which partially gutted the ground floor and damaged the building's electrical system.

However, there was extensive damage to the shop's archives which contained publications dating back to the 1800s. Freedom Press is Britain's longest running anarchist publisher and traces its history back to the original *Freedom* newspaper started by Charlotte Wilson and Peter Kropotkin in 1886. It is still printing and is available through freedompress.org.uk.

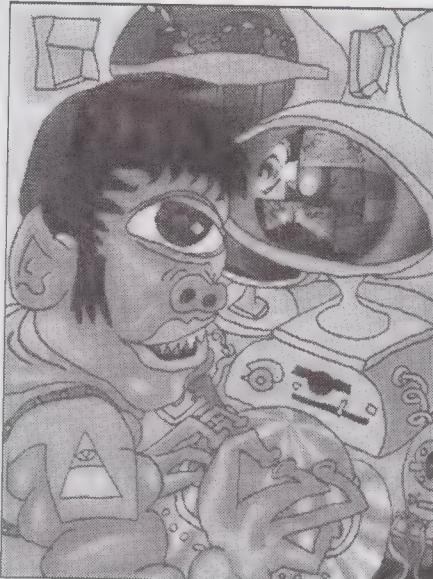
An unknown assailant smashed a window and poured a flammable liquid into the bookshop and setting it alight. Nobody has claimed responsibility for the attack although many believe that the far-right may be responsible. The Freedom building was last seriously attacked in 1993 by a now defunct neo-Nazi terror group, Combat 18.

The community was quick to respond to help with a clean-up of the premises which were quickly restored and became operational again in just a few days. Benefits were also held to express solidarity and cover costs.

As well as selling books, Freedom Press publishes a number themselves, produces a monthly paper and provides office space for several radical and anarchist groups such as the Solidarity Federation, Anarchist Federation, Advisory Service for Squatters, Corporate Watch and London Coalition Against Poverty.

Due to financial problems the press has suffered recently, the insurance on the building had not been renewed and the shop is requesting donations. Freedom said: "We are setting up a donation page. In the meanwhile, anyone who wants to donate can do so by ordering a book through our website."

Visit freedompress.org.uk or write Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX for ordering.



—Stephen Goodfellow

TALES FROM THE CYBERSPHERE Fifth Estate on the Web

Since its radical beginnings the *Fifth Estate* has consistently been more than a magazine, indeed, more than a publication. From the start its staff and contributors — in Detroit and farther afield — have been engaged with anti-authoritarian activities and ideas that are hard to grasp simply by viewing single issues of the FE.

Those of us who have had the good fortune to know the *Fifth Estate* for a long time, and possibly have a file drawer full of back issues for reference, know and treasure the magazine as a rich, radical resource.

So, it is encouraging to note two new Web-based initiatives aiming to extend the presence of the FE and its community beyond the magazine's printed pages.

First, is this column, which will feature information and links for accessing the work of FE staffers, contributors, and friends that have found their way onto the Web. Each issue we will focus on a few such individuals and groups, as you can read below.

Second, we are pleased to announce the beginning of a project to share virtually all of the anti-authoritarian content of the *Fifth*

Estate from 1975 to the present via the FE's own website. Just as FE & Friends have been active in areas beyond writing and publishing, so the archives will also eventually include multi-media access to their art, music, film, video documentation, and more. Keep checking fifthestate.org for signs of our progress in rounding out the definition of this anti-authoritarian project's past and present.

Our friend and comrade Federico Arcos, born in 1920, has been involved as an FE contributor from early on. To begin learning more about this anarchist veteran of the Spanish Revolution and lifelong rebel, you can visit The Anarchist Library's holdings at: theanarchistlibrary.org/search?query=federico+arcos. There you'll find, among other texts, some of Federico's prose and poetry, as well as a stirring appreciation, "Homage to Federico Arcos," written by David Watson, another long-time FE contributor.

While browsing the Web you can also see and hear Federico, along with other Spanish anarchists, recount their experiences of the Revolution of 1936-1939 in the film *Vivir la Utopia (Living Utopia)*. A version in Spanish with English subtitles can be found at: [youtube.com/watch?v=Xirj-Ri5d9g](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xirj-Ri5d9g). An English version of the film's script is at: recollecbooks.com/siml/library/utopia.htm

Kelly Pflug-Back is another FE contributor whose life has seen much more than writing and print publishing. To learn more about her many and varied forms of revolt, visit her site at kellypflugback.wordpress.com.

Kelly just finished serving a prison sentence related to her participation in protests at the 2010 G20 meeting in Toronto. Her article, "Life in the Body Dump," printed in Winter, 2013, can also be found on her site. It illustrates the ravages of late capitalism as they are visited on the life of a 47-year-old fellow inmate Kelly came to know.

Another article by Kelly, "Survival of the Fittest? Questioning Perceptions of Disability Before Industrialized Medicine," from our Summer 2012 issue (#387), is available online at againstcivilization.tk/

The lives of Fifth Estate staff, contributors and friends are unfolding along with the anti-authoritarian ideas and actions they contribute to and reflect. You'll see their words and images here in the FE's print pages, and in the cybersphere.

This column will guide you to their presence on the Worldwide Web.



Trafficking Anti-Civ Thought Across Borders

BY FRANKLIN LOPEZ

In October 2010, I finally called it quits on my film END:CIV. By calling it quits, I mean that I decided that the film was done, and that I would not add or remove a single frame of video, tweak the audio or add any more titles.

Like Coppola once said and I paraphrase, "One does not finish a film, one abandons it."

But far from abandoning it, the following November of that year, I embarked on an eighteen-month grassroots tour, where I

would present my work to audiences in seventeen countries in over 150 screenings.

END:CIV as in "end of civilization" attempts to synthesize the main ideas put forth on Derrick Jensen's *Endgame* books. The main concept being that civilization is not and can never be sustainable.

Jensen posits that civilization is an inherently violent and insane culture, with a death urge, and that if we want to continue to breathe the air and drink the water, we need to destroy this culture of civilization by

any means necessary. END:CIV used real life situations to exemplify the viciousness of this construct. The brutal conquest of the "New World," the Alberta tar sands oil development in western Canada; clear-cut logging in the Pacific North West and the occupation of Iraq, are used to illustrate the lengths civilization will go to, to continue to expand.

END:CIV also showcased the thriving anti-civ milieu in Turtle Island by featuring interviews with green anarchists, eco-activists, indigenous land defenders and authors. You

can view the film in its entirety for free at endciv.com.

The goal of the film was to expose radical audiences in Turtle Island to anti-civ ideas, but also to challenge the pacifist currents within North American activist culture. I did not want to make a film that would be acceptable to a mainstream audience; hence, a lot of ideas were skipped.

For instance, I did not feel the need to unpack the concept of capitalism, as I would mostly show the film to anti-capitalists. So, when I was invited to screen the film in Mexico and later in Japan, I was a little hesitant, not because I thought people wouldn't get it, but because they were not the target viewers. In both instances I was pleasantly surprised, and the reactions were overwhelmingly positive.

Mexico has a long history of militant resistance, so I felt my emphasis on the need for a more aggressive movement, might be off-putting or even condescending. Instead, folks in places like Oaxaca and Chiapas, told me that they were happy to know that comrades north of the border, shared their sense of urgency.

The context in Japan was a bit different. A few months earlier, the meltdown at the Fukushima nuclear power plant released a tremendous amounts of radiation into the atmosphere. Dangerous levels of radioactive isotopes have spread to many areas of the island nation, and the government's inability to properly address the situation, has kick-started a massive grassroots anti-nuke movement.

A film that questions the concept of civilization might not have been welcome in this techno-state before the disaster. But after five screenings on the Japan leg of the tour, END:CIV has been projected dozens of times since my departure.

The constant traveling was extremely hard on my body, and the intellectual gymnastics of the question and answer sessions were exhausting. As I suspected, the dichotomy of violence vs. non-violence

dominated the discussions.

The first screening was on Denman Island in so called British Columbia. Denman is a small community comprised of a mix of retirees, back to the land hippies, Vietnam era draft-dodgers, anarchists, and travelers. Comrades there are currently engaged in a struggle to stop a coal mine directly across the water in the Comox Valley.

Organizers used the screening as a way to get the conversation about direct action going. So I understood what my role was: the out-of-towner who could broach an uncomfortable topic, and kick-off a discussion that locals may have trouble starting themselves. I played this part in most of the small communities I visited.

I've been yelled at, and reprimanded by old white guys from coast to coast! More importantly though, the film and subsequent discussions have validated a lot things people privately suspected, but had never heard anybody say out loud.

The context in Australia and Aotearoa (New Zealand) was extremely similar to that of so-called Canada. Massive extraction projects threaten many natural areas and the homes of already marginalized aboriginal Australian and Maori communities.

Alliances between environmental activists, anarchists and indigenous warriors, have created strong networks of resistance, but also have unleashed the mechanisms of state repression. [See FE, Winter 2013, "Operation 8."] The notions of colonization and genocide that I dealt with in the film were an easy sell, and in this instance, I felt like I was preaching to the converted.

Compare that to Europe, where people's exposure to native societies has mostly come from Hollywood movies. Europe was colonized and "civilized" long ago, and with a couple of exceptions, there are hardly any indigenous cultures or untamed areas left.

So, concern for the state of nature was almost absent from the post film discussions. With the exception of the UK, which has a vibrant climate change movement, from where I stood, radical movements in Europe seemed to be more concerned with the social war than with the defense of the wild.

I argued that these things are not separate, and that class warfare is also an attack on civilization. Without nature, there is no life. Our social movements have to accept that our ecological situation has to be prioritized, and that the further decay of the natural world will exacerbate all of our social problems: poverty, migration, racism, global economics, and much more.

I did stumble upon small contingents of anti-civ thought in Northern Italy and Cataluña (Northern Spain.) Sadly, the texts I saw were mostly translations of Ted Kaczynski's work. I think these scenes could benefit from the works of indigenous authors like ZigZag and Waziyatawin.

I also found that people wanted to learn more about this current of thought, but the lack of translated texts made it hard for these ideas to circulate. But I think it's high time for the anti-civ movement to break out of the Turtle Island scene, and expand the world's radical discourse beyond its anti-capitalist frame.

Franklin Lopez, hosts the web site submedia.tv. where END CIV may be viewed and downloaded for free. It also displays his other documentaries and frequent smash-up commentaries.

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Back on the streets

From page 27

a wide spectrum of issues surrounding government austerity, borders, colonialism, racism in society and in the legal system, and the criminalization of poverty, addiction, and mental health issues.

While striving to keep my contribution open-ended during the question and answer periods that take up much of the time at these events, I try to relate the issues which arise back to a common theme—practical ways in which we can expand our prisoner solidarity efforts past the rudimentary template of noise demonstrations, letter-writing evenings and awareness raising, in order to develop a model for meaningful, long term support for people behind bars.

Leaving these discussions open-ended and interactive rather than having pre-written lectures has meant that each event is different, depending on the interests of the audience and the direction which our conversations take. This structure has also allowed me to do as much listening as talking, if not more. At each event so far, people have shared new points, ideas, criticisms and personal experiences which have expanded not only my personal understanding, but also the variety of potential frameworks and strategies I can bring to future organizing.

Templates I offer for what these forms of prisoner support look like come largely from the experiences I have had, both in jail

and since being released, around bottom-up, prisoner-centered prison justice organizing.

In collaboration with other ex prisoners and the Prisoner AIDS Support Action Network (PASAN), an abolitionist, anti-stigma prisoner justice organization based in Toronto, I have been working on setting up a new publication for women prisoners, where they can submit art and writing and also get connected with resources which are specifically needed in the female prisoner population.

These issues, often glossed over by generalized prison analysis, include child custody supports, advocacy for maternal health care, HIV/AIDS and Hepatitis C treatment, resources for coping with trauma, and accessing legal help for immigration and citizenship matter.

Cell Count, the newsletter which PASAN already distributes to the general prison population, also has a long history of featuring poetry and creative writing by prisoners, and in the coming year we will be publishing an anthology of poetry selected from the past ten years of Cell Count issues.

At the Montreal Anarchist Bookfair in May, I planned to co-facilitate a workshop called Strategies for Solidarity With Women Prisoners with one of the organizers from PASAN as well as an activist I met in jail. My interview with her appears on page 17.

Unfortunately, resources for women prisoners in Canada, both institutional and community based, are sorely lacking, and many of the things which are most critically needed are currently beyond our means. This is one reason why we recognize the importance of networking with other

activists, and reaching out to groups in the US, such as Birthing Behind Bars, which have successfully established the type of framework of support for women prisoners which we aspire to build.

One of the more productive things which I've gained from having served jail time is the ability to communicate to others the suffering and injustice which I witnessed, and to hopefully pass on some of the inspiration and renewed sense of urgency which these things have lent to my organizing efforts.

One person, who approached me after an event at an anarchist social space in Montreal, La Belle Epoque, said that they enjoyed my talk precisely because my analysis of prison was centred around personal, specific examples of what institutional violence looks like rather than general criticisms of the prison system.

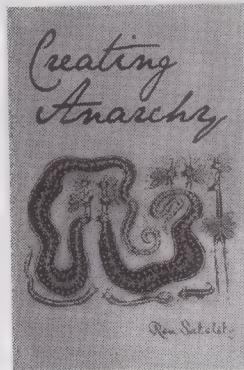
This is what I seek to do during this tour: give an idea of the big picture by holding up a magnifying glass to some of its most poignant aspects rather than offering a blurry, summary approximation of the entire thing.

It is only through this personal connection with prison issues, and with prisoners themselves, that we can balance our anger towards the oppression which prisons embody with an equal, if not greater, amount of compassion for those who are most brutally affected by it.

Kelly Pflug-Back's book, *These Burning Streets*, is available from Combustion Books at combustionbooks.org.

Second Edition of Ron Sakolsky's 'Creating Anarchy' Published

Ardent Press in Berkeley, California is publishing a second edition of Ron Sakolsky's *Creating Anarchy*. Originally issued in 2005 by the Fifth Estate as a one-off publication, the book is a dynamic collage of ideas, images, and action—ranging widely from May Day to utopia, from refusal to autonomy, and from insurrection to imagination.



The resulting volume is, in turn, defiant, reflective, and playful—a brick for hurling through the windows of despair and a doorway to creating an anarchy that is not afraid to dream.

Several of Ron's articles in the original edition were previously published in the Fifth Estate. The new edition includes his "Occupying The Citadels of the Mind," from

the Winter 2013 FE Education issue, as well as an autobiographical interview piece, "My Life in the Academic Gulag", along with a new introduction by the author and cover by surrealist and FE contributor, Penelope Rosemont.

littleblackcart.com/Creating-Anarchy.html

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Polyamory & Power

From page 14

we have interesting arguments to justify a more horizontal arrangement.

I've heard of group marriages that claim to get past those hierarchies, but these don't have a great legacy or track record. Patriarchal plural marriage, such as practiced by Mormons, doesn't offer much hope for freedom or equality either.

For those who choose romantic relations, long-term one-on-one collectives-of-two may be the enduring social norm for good reasons. Certainly, heterosexual marriage has a legacy of supporting male power in the social and economic sense, but the equal partnership model has made many gains in the last century.

In the 90s, it was fashionable for radicals to oppose the marriage equality movement from a left-libertarian and gender-queer perspective, but of late, it has become the civil rights issue of our time. Like the rapper Macklemore spits, "Damn right I support it."

If some radicals still see the gay marriage movement as a political sellout, I will let them take that up. As a person who recently came out as heterosexual (after identifying as bi- or poly- for years) and then got remarried, I could only hope the same privileges afforded to my spouse and me also be provided to our friends in the LGBT community. (Granted, the way that the marriage equality movement privileges the Lesbian or Gay citizens over the Bisexual and Transgender persons in that movement is a topic for a different day.)

Marriage could be seen not only as state or religious institution but as a community one. It's perhaps when one-on-one relationships become equal partnerships where actual romantic and erotic equality can be explored and true intimacy experienced; that doesn't necessarily have to be in the context of marriage, but marriage may redeem its historical roots in the contemporary period by its own transformation as a new kind of social norm.

It's a relatively conservative conclusion for a retired freak — and once card-carrying "lifestyle anarchist" — like me to reach, but one that I am quite happy to express and advocate today.

Andrew William Smith, the writer formerly known as Sunfrog/Sissy Sabotage/Anu Bonobo lives and teaches happily in Middle Tennessee.

Supporting Political Prisoners

Government Repression, Prisoner Support

Sacramento Prisoner Support, 2012, 157pp., P & L Printing, Denver CO \$10, order through pandlprinting.com

BY NICK MEDVECKY

Unknown to many U.S. citizens, federal and state governments currently imprison more people, 2.4 million+, in their gulag than any nation in history.

The vast majority of these prisoners are socio-economic-political victims. I'd estimate that only between 3 and 15 percent are predatory criminals.

The incarceration explosion and variety of prisons built since Ronald Reagan's election in 1980 has been matched by draconian sentences to fill them accompanied by increasingly horrid conditions. One of the growing prison populations are those being targeted and criminalized for various ecology protest actions, increasingly being designated by the government as "terrorism."

Government Repression Prisoner Support compiled by the Sacramento Prisoner Support (SPS) is a handy 157-pg paperback that indexes a good summation of the ever-changing confusing rules and regulations that prisoners and their supporters face.

SPS has been involved in support activities since 2004 with much of its current involvement centered on the 20 year+ prison sentence of Eric McDavid. In the introduction, the authors state, "When we began supporting prisoners in the Sacramento area in 2004, it was difficult to know what to do." This book solves the problem for others taking on this crucial work.

There is also a variety of legal/security advice (and appropriate warnings) that should be required reading for anyone in these times of political and state-terror who seeks contact with prisoners.

Among the realities are the nuts and bolts of prison phone calls, visits, mail, commissary, how prisoners can receive materials, money donations, etc. Sections cover the periods from arrest and jail confinement, legal-lawyer advice, trial, and imprisonment.

The book also helps with suggestions for creating support groups, fund-raising, and media attention.

Of critical note: being an anarchist advocacy group, SPS specifies that, "Prisoner support is ONLY for prisoners who refuse to cooperate with law enforcement." The sad fact is, virtually all prosecution of political crimes these days involve entrapment and provocateur/snitch actions.

I'd like to suggest that the authors include an Internet link in future printings to their publication that updates information as it becomes available, perhaps even with an FAQ section.

Also links to the book's resources, such as, the federal Bureau of Prisons inmate locator, how to send funds to prisoner accounts, and Corrlinks, prisoner e-mail access would be helpful. In other words, let the links themselves do a lot of your work, writing and updating so that the readership can get current details and stay up to date on the ever-changing rules and circumstances.

Today, prisons serve a direct corporatist function. They are vast warehouses of surplus labor. Every prisoner works and, in fact, some 600,000 are replacing free-world labor at a fraction of the pay and zero benefits. Private enterprise prison jobs are among the fastest growing in the nation.

Those who deserve our support, who resist for freedom, democracy and a rational relationship with our planet, are a severe threat to corporatist control and their profiteering.

Nick Medvecky has been active in political movement from the Civil Rights era to the current struggle against corporatist-fascism for over 50 years. In addition to a career in journalism, including covering the Middle East, and 17 years as a criminal defense investigator, he has served more than 25 years in jails, work camps, and prisons in numerous states and countries for his political-moral-consensual "crimes."

He maintains a blog at AmericanTribune.org.

Send letters via e-mail to fe@fifthestate.org or Fifth Estate, P.O. Box 201016, Ferndale MI 48220
All formats accepted including typescript & handwritten. Letters may be edited for length.

Letters

From page 3

The government allows these outsiders to fill their cities with KFCs and other franchises. The most egregious and astounding example of Western intrusion was when I turned on the TV during my visit in the summer of 2012 and saw the show Vietnam's Next Top Model hosted by former American model, Tyra Banks!

Ball says that although Vietnam technically "won" the war with the U.S., from another viewpoint, the U.S. still triumphed in that it wanted to make the Asian nation capitalist, something that is now happening. He quotes a journalist to the effect that "by delaying a communist government, the United States bought a crucial decade" for the country to move toward a capitalist orientation.

It might be added that the two biggest Asian capitalist powerhouses, Korea and Taiwan, had the foundations of their economies laid by the vast infusion of U.S. military money because, for the former, it was the site of a U.S.-backed war, and, for the latter, it needed bolstering to forestall a Chinese invasion.

It can be speculated, that if the U.S. had "won" the Vietnam war and there was a permanent national division of North and South, the U.S. would actually have lost in that Vietnam (with so much U.S. military money around) might have become another Asian tiger threatening American economic hegemony rather than what it is now, a rather small player on the economic field.

Secondly, Ball believes that the new level of government repression as foreign capital pours in will evoke "localized resistance." Indeed, rumbles of such resistance have already been heard. What should not be overlooked, however, is the elite's ability to rule through division.

My wife's family is Chinese, a group that suffered redoubled repression during the border war of Vietnam and China in 1979. Even before this, when the Communists took over Saigon in 1975, the Chinese owned small businesses were expropriated and many merchants jailed.

When my wife and I first visited the



photo: Frank Joyce

A Cambodian village during a visit by U.S. anti-war activists.

country in 2010, we were interested to see if such anti-Chinese sentiment still existed. Instead, we saw something else, another type of division that could be exploited by the state to divide workers.

My wife was shocked to find that her niece's three children, all in high school, spoke Vietnamese with heavy Northern accents. All the school teachers in Ho Chi Minh City were Northerners. Southern teachers need not apply.

This was part of a marked caste system of a sort, which treated those from the South as second class citizens. Ultimate proof: every contestant on Vietnam's Next Top Model was from the North

Jim Feast
New York City

I think it's risky business for any Westerner—me included—with limited exposure to a foreign country to pass judgment on that country's government and social order. That said, my impressions of Viet Nam are more favorable than Jonny Ball's.

I "met" Viet Nam as an antiwar activist, made my first visit to Hanoi in 1970, and am just back from my third trip there. I love the country and its people.

Is it utopia? Of course not—although a case can be made that it is the most admired nation on the planet. Worldwide esteem notwithstanding, Viet Nam openly acknowledges and widely discusses its

problems of poverty, income disparity, corruption, pollution (including the aesthetic and psychological pollution that comes with "marketing"), trash management and urban sprawl.

A leading Vietnamese intellectual, Madam Ton Nu Thi Ninh, recently told a group of US anti-war activists, "Peace is harder than war." She makes a valid point.

Many nations have been victimized by the imperial military brutality of the United States. Viet Nam in particular is still dealing with the legacies of US abuse: more than 3 million killed; entire villages bombed off the map; birth defects and other ongoing issues from Agent Orange and unexploded ordnance; the effects of the artificial division of the country into north and south from 1955 to 1975; an economic blockade that lasted for 20 years after the war ended and more.

Those dynamics alone would be a challenge for any government to overcome. Add in being invaded by China in 1979 and having to oust the murderous Pol Pot regime in Cambodia in the same time frame and the challenges are even greater.

Nevertheless, Viet Nam has been a worldwide leader in recent years in poverty reduction. It has a robust trade union movement. There are 500 strikes a year on average, often against foreign owned companies. A new Labor Code was recently enacted that further strengthens worker rights. There are a growing number of worker owned enterprises. A nationwide

conversation is underway regarding Constitutional reform. For better or worse, there is a real sense of economic vitality evident in cities and rural areas.

What to make of recently arrived Western based luxury stores in Hanoi and a Starbucks in Ho Chi Minh City? That's an interesting and important question, but I doubt that such Western capitalist outcroppings will ultimately produce the same outcome for the Vietnamese as the capitalism that lies at the end of 500 years of chattel slavery, genocide against indigenous populations and world wide conquest, as with the US, Britain and other Western powers.

It seems to me that to think otherwise with all knowing certitude can itself be a form of cultural imperialism. Defeatist, too. I am struck again and again by how easy it is for Westerners all across the political spectrum to come up with some version of—see, the capitalists always win. And, the point is what? That white people really are smarter or better? That the struggle against America's war on Viet Nam was a waste of time? That capitalism can only use Viet Nam for its own ends, not the other way around?

At the very least, as Chou En Lai was said to have responded to the question, what do you think of the French Revolution? "It's too soon to tell."

Frank Joyce
Detroit

FE Note: Frank Joyce was the News Editor of the Fifth Estate during the late 1960s when this publication appeared bi-weekly and weekly.

Jonny Ball responds: Frank Joyce takes issue with my piece on modern-day Vietnam, but beginning his criticisms with the assertion that it's "risky business" for a "Westerner" to "pass judgment on another country's government or social order." This is a curious statement, given that this would make any kind of debate or discussion about the politics of any country other than our own near-impossible.

My aim was to highlight and censure aspects of Vietnam's socioeconomic and political order that are antithetical to any kind of anarchist or left-libertarian politics and run contrary to the interests of poor and disenfranchised Vietnamese.

I do not deny the enormous sacrifice made by the Vietnamese people for independence from Chinese, Japanese,

French, and American imperialism over the centuries. However, this sacrifice has been manipulated by the leaders and propagandists of a one-party state in order to legitimize and preserve their dictatorial stranglehold.

In doing so, this corrupt, nepotistic and nefarious elite have enriched themselves at the expense of ordinary people. They have benefited enormously from the market reforms introduced since the '80s, often through the sell-off of state-owned enterprises or bribes taken for awarding contracts to businesses.

Poverty has certainly been reduced since the 80s, and this has been the trend almost the world over, but the gap between Vietnamese rich and poor is widening exponentially and far too many are being left behind and excluded from the so-called "economic miracle." As a visitor to Vietnam, Joyce will be well aware of the opulence of a nouveau-riche that sits side-by-side with destitution and squalor.

Joyce's adoration for Vietnam's "robust" trade union movement is almost surreal. As he should know, every union in the country is affiliated to the government-controlled umbrella organization, the General Confederation of Labour.

The GCL rarely, if ever, authorizes strikes and the "500 strikes a year" that he refers to are nearly all wildcat, completely illegal and unauthorized. These incidents are, in fact, what I referred to as "localized resistance".

It is sad to see that so many on the left see fit to defend or even admire the actions of governments abroad whilst they themselves are the first to criticize their own leaders implementing the same policies.

Joyce, it seems, has fallen prey to this. I'm sure he'd be happy to launch into a critique of uneven wealth distribution in the US, but squirms when I critique it in Vietnam, a country I have lived in for more than a year.

I wonder what he'd say if Obama routinely locked away bloggers or pamphleteers calling for freedom of speech? Or, if dissenting websites and social networks were blocked by an internet firewall? Or, if all unions were government-controlled? Or, if there was no freedom of the press? Or, if all street protests were illegal

Or, am I just being a "cultural imperialist?"

Still At It

Back in the 1960s, when I was young,

I lived in Detroit and would read your newspaper. I got it at a head shop, The Mouse House, on Grand River Avenue. My mother would complain, "I don't want you reading that newspaper where they call the police, pigs."

I am happy to see the Fifth Estate still exists today. As a supposedly free society, America needs to have alternative opinions and perspectives publicized.

A Fifth Estate Friend,
Houston, Texas

War Woop re: Skool

"Skool Sucks!" is the war-woop of the pupileariat! Bruce Levine is dead on when he writes about attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) and Oppositional Defiant Disorder (ODD) being leveled at rebel students. [See Winter 2012, "Anti-Authoritarian Personalities & Standard Schools."] I would've been diagnosed with both as I scathingly, violently hated skool and acted on it.

A relative who is a teacher (and as dumb as an empty can of paint, i.e., she/he can't think independently) told me, "Oh yes, you have ODD, the book says so," after I related this story:

When I was forcibly whisked away from play when I was a child and dumped into kindergarten, we were forced to color a couple walking,

Teach says, "Now, students, use the right colors and color inside the lines."

I was furious at being told what to do, so I took a purple crayon and scribbled all over the page. I smartly, rationally acted against a dumb teacher, a dumb assignment and being forced into a jailish class.

Well, that led to my poor parents being called into school for a conference to see if I was OK. Luckily, there were no pills back then to control me. But teach did degrade and punish me. ODD is totalitarian and not even psychology pseudo-science. It's not science at all; it's pure politics.

Christ, I was only a 6 year old child. I did my sentence of standard schooling and things only got worse and more irrational, hateful and violent. I'll never forgive. And, I'll never forget.

I'll never respect the many radicals, even anarchists, that teach in standard schools thinking they'll "make a difference." Just stay away, motherfuckers.

Joey Homicides,
Yonkers

An Anarchist Life

Audrey Goodfriend, 1920-2013

BY HOWARD BESSER

Lifelong anarchist Audrey Goodfriend died on January 19 at 92. Over her lifetime, Audrey engaged with generations of anarchists, and in many ways served as a bridge between them. The fact that as a teenager in the late 1930s, Audrey hitch-hiked to Toronto to meet Emma Goldman, gave younger anarchists who met her a direct connection with anarchist history.

Audrey was inspirational because she lived her principles and was involved with a myriad of fellow anarchists and activities. She never married, but lived many years with her partner David Koven, and had two children with him.

She never voted, but was well aware of current affairs and political issues.

Audrey was a "black diaper baby," born in New York City to a bookbinder and a dressmaker from Poland. Her parents were both anarchists and secular Jews. Her first language was Yiddish and she didn't learn English until she went to public school.

When she was six, her family moved to the Sholem Aleichem House, a cooperative housing project in the Bronx mainly populated by anarchists, social democrats, left Zionists, and communists. Throughout her youth she was surrounded by poor, but highly political and cultured people who not only made political discussions a constant part of their lives, but also engaged in direct action activities.

When parents felt a traffic light was needed in their neighborhood, they protested by standing in the street until the city agreed to install one. After her co-op was taken over by a private firm, the residents launched a strike that succeeded in lowering their rents. In addition to the local activities that shaped Goodfriend's politics, her early memories included the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927 and the 1936 revolution in Spain.

Just before World War II, she attended Hunter College and joined the Young Anarchists. During the war she became part of the New York-based anarchist group, Why?, which agitated against the conflict from an anarchist perspective. The war was controversial in anarchist circles, with many feeling it necessary to support it in an attempt to stop the spread of fascism, but Why? continuously published tracts condemning it.

After the war, Audrey and Koven continued to agitate against the military draft and traveled the U.S. raising money for their group's efforts. When passing through San Francisco, they decided to move to the Bay Area having previously corresponded with anarchist writers Paul Goodman and Kenneth Rexroth. They were impressed with the cluster of people around the two authors who later were instrumental in forming the Beat movement. Though Audrey wasn't part of the Beats, she was present in Berkeley in 1955 when Alan Ginsberg read his influential poem, *Howl*, in public for the first time.

In San Francisco around 1950, she and David helped form a cooperative and intended to eventually build a commune in the countryside. Each member contributed whatever they earned to



Audrey Goodfriend with Federico Arcos. —photo: J. Herrada

a community pool (it was mainly the women who held jobs). They organized weekly open discussions on anarchism and other topics such as politics, literature, and psychology at the San Francisco Workmen's Circle Center.

When Audrey and David had kids in the 1950s, she became acutely interested in how schooling effects a person's socialization and politics. She attended San Francisco State College to obtain a teaching credential. Then, along with a few other couples they had met through political circles, they created the Walden School in Berkeley.

It was designed on the principles of the anarchist Modern School in Stelton, New Jersey. When she was younger, one of Audrey's teachers had previously taught at the Modern School, and in her late teens, Audrey visited there. Audrey maintained her interest in Stelton throughout her life.

I remember her peppering me with questions after Paul Avrich took Federico Arcos and me to a reunion of school attendees a decade ago. One of the principles of the Walden School was to listen to the students and the teachers more than to the parents. Audrey taught at Walden from 1958-1971.

I met Audrey at the First International Symposium on Anarchism and Film in Portland, Oregon in 1980. When we returned to Berkeley afterwards, we both became involved in monthly meetings of young anarchists in San Francisco's Mission district, and fundraising picnics hosted by elderly Italian anarchists (remains of a once-vibrant anarchist community of chicken farmers north of San Francisco).

For over 30 years I have watched Audrey interact with anarchists less than half her age as an active member of study groups and attending public events. In 2000, we both attended a gathering in Venice, Italy on the historic links between anarchism and Judaism. Audrey had a wonderful time, dancing (with a bum hip and a cane for support), carousing and telling jokes with anarchists from all over the world. She never used her age or experience to push her own views as superior. On the contrary, she was humble, and would listen attentively even to very naïve observations from others. She enjoyed engaging with other people, and hearing what they had to say.

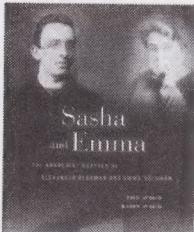
When she was 60, she developed a passion for acting, and for 25 years performed in a Berkeley theater troupe. One night in January of this year, she went to a performance, came home talking excitedly

about what she had seen, went to sleep, and never woke up. We know that she hadn't anticipated dying, as she had just purchased a year's worth of theater tickets!

Those who interacted with Audrey will never forget her vibrancy. She was a worthy role model for many of us. And for most of us, she was a vital link with the generations of anarchists who have come before us. Her spirit will always be a part of us.

Howard Besser is a bicoastal educator who has been involved in anarchist politics since the 1960s. He maintains a collection of 2,500 t-shirts of social significance, and last saw Audrey at his T-Shirt Exhibition in Berkeley, Calif. in July 2012.

Books and Publications received



BOOKS

Sasha and Emma: The Anarchist Odyssey of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, by Paul Avrich and

Karen Avrich, Harvard University Press, 2012, 528 pp., 36 photos, \$35.

The story of "the most dangerous woman in America" and her long-time companion, begun by the late historian Paul Avrich and completed by his daughter. Goldman's words, whose quotes adorn everything from coffee mugs to Occupy placards, still resonate with the passion and vision of anarchy.

Anarchy! An Anthology of Emma Goldman's Mother Earth, edited by Peter Glassgold, 2012, Counterpoint Press, 464pp., \$19.95. Counterpointpress.com.

This volume contains a riche of articles and commentary from Goldman's monthly magazine which published from 1908 until 1918 when it was effectively closed by the Woodrow Wilson administration which was busy "making the world safe for democracy."

Radical writers of the era from Peter Kropotkin and Leo Tolstoy to Voltarine de

Cleyre and Margaret Sanger fill the pages.

The Best of Social Anarchism, edited by Howard Ehrlich and a.h.s. boy, 2013, See Sharp Press, 421pp., \$24.95; seesharppress.com

The Baltimore gang has been putting out this thoughtful magazine since 1980. It contains the best of anarchist theory and practice they've published over the last almost quarter-century.

The prolific See Sharp Press has also recently released a flurry of other titles worth a look including titles of post-apocalyptic fiction, and a non-fiction look at the culture wars initiated by the American Taliban, i.e., right-wing Christians.

Exposing "Little Guantanamo": Inside the CMU, Daniel McGowan, AK Press, 22pp., \$2.00. akpress.org

Daniel McGowan, an environmental activist, imprisoned for a series of arsons attributed to the Earth Liberation Front, was transferred to a Communications Management Unit in the notorious Marion, Illinois supermax. The facility is set up for those convicted of terrorism, a prison within a prison, where inmates are on constant lockdown and their movements highly restricted.

This pamphlet is a firsthand account of this newest development in the "war on terror." McGowan is currently in a half-way house after seven years in prison but was jailed in April by the Bureau of Prisons following publication of his writings on CMUs in the Huntington Post. Fortunately, the Center for Constitutional Rights quickly obtained his release.



The Anarchist Turn, edited by Jacob Blumenfeld, Chiara, & Simon Critchley, Pluto Press, 2013, plutobooks.com

Globalization and the opposition movements

it spawns have shown that an anarchical society is not only desirable, but feasible.

Maps to the Other Side: The Adventures of a Bipolar Cartographer, Sascha Altman Dubrul, 2013, Microcosm Publishing, 192 pp., \$15.95, microcosmpublishing.com

A twist on the classic punk rock travel narrative that searches for authenticity and connection in the lives of strangers and the solidarity and limitations of underground community.

An illuminated trail through a complex labyrinth of undocumented migrants, anarchist community organizers, brilliant visionary artists, revolutionary seed savers, punk rock historians, social justice farmers, radical mental health activists, and iconoclastic bridge builders.

PERIODICALS

Free Voices, c/o Solomon Press, 98-12 66th Ave., Suite #2, Rego Park NY 11374. freevoicesmagazine.com.

In an era when interest and adherence to anarchism is on the rise, it's a strange phenomenon that papers expressing it are on the decrease. So, it's good to see this finely produced magazine which, like this publication, has a theme each issue. FV #10 proves the adage that great minds think in the same direction since their theme is Education and Anarchism. Single issues are \$5.95; \$20 for a 4-issue subscription. Support the anarchist press!

Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed, No. 74, C.A.L. Press, POB 3448, Berkeley CA 94703; anarchymag.org. Now a yearly, AJODA features a high-end look with a gorgeous cover. The contents are not for those looking to skim breezy articles. Book reviews examine *Against Architecture* and *The Beginning of the American Fall* without a bit of sympathy. Also, an interesting and sympathetic reading of review of Kathy Ferguson's book on Emma Goldman. A review of it appears on our page 30.

Articles such as "Its Cure is the Negation," challenge the reader, plus columns.

Media Junky, Issue 18, Winter 2013. It's good to see that xeroxed haven't completely disappeared. Its clip and paste punkish format is almost in eclipse, so thanks to Jason Rodgers, PO Box 62, Lawrence MA 01482 for continuing the tradition.

Actually, when you read through MJ, you realize there are a lot more of these publications than you would expect. If you want to see what is happening on the margins of publishing, Jason has the list and reviews of them. \$1 or stamps or "a nice letter," he writes.

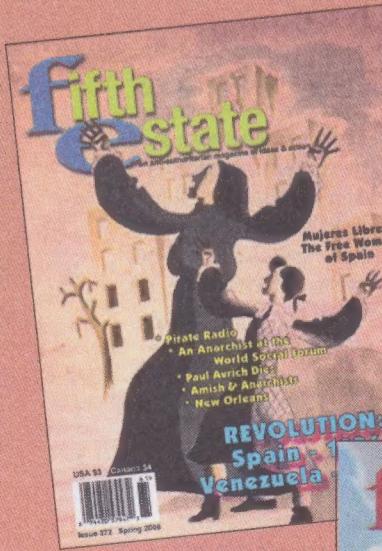
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Top, left: Summer 2006 - report on Venezuela trip; top, right: Fall 2005- IWW Centenary; bottom: Spring 2007 - 40th anniversary of Society of the Spectacle

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